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A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

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THE WAR CRISIS

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THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

VOLUME 14 MAY, 1932 NUMBER 5

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

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An Appeal

THE best magazine on the market : such is the nature of the encouraging letters the LABOUR MONTHLY *is continually receiving from its readers. And circulation is growing.*

Nevertheless, in view of the fact that such things as advertisement revenue, which enables a capitalist journal to fill the gap between income and expenditure, is hard for the LABOUR MONTHLY *to come by, we must depend for our existence on the generous support of a circle of guarantors amongst our readers.*

This circle with the deepening of the crisis has recently inevitably narrowed. The result is that once again the LABOUR MONTHLY *is approaching a crisis. Since its foundation nearly eleven years ago the* LABOUR MONTHLY *has met but overcome many a crisis thanks to its supporters. This one we feel sure can also be overcome.*

Last year we took the risk of incurring extra expense to issue a special number to celebrate our tenth anniversary. An appeal was issued. Not only did we meet with increased donations but our circulation immediately jumped and now stands at over half as much again.

With this number we again are taking risks. The urgency of the War Crisis makes it imperative that every aspect of the fight against war should be made known, and as widely as possible. We realise that the extra commitments of this number might seem unjustified in view of our financial position.

We feel confident, notwithstanding, that once again our readers will stand us in good stead and so help in the common task of developing and clarifying the revolutionary fight against imperialist war.

The LABOUR MONTHLY *is produced for the barest printing, paper and distribution costs. All service on it is voluntary ; no writer is paid. Nevertheless there is still a deficit of between £20–£25 a month. This has been met by a system of guarantors, friends in Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia and*

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South Africa, who have guaranteed us a monthly donation of what they are able, ranging from 1s. *to* £2 *a month.*

But lately, as we said, the crisis has taken its toll, and, for other reasons as well, the circle has narrowed. We feel confident, however, that there are many more who may be interested in the LABOUR MONTHLY, *new readers amongst them perhaps, who do not know the difficulties which are faced each month to ensure its publication, who would be taken by surprise by a sudden cessation of publication for lack of funds.*

Therefore we take this opportunity to appeal to all our readers to do what they can either by becoming a guarantor, if possible, or else by sending us a donation in order at any rate to help to cover the extra expense incurred in this number.

We intend to resume shortly the regular publication in pamphlet form (at, we hope, the price of 1d. *and* 2d. *according to length) of articles appearing in the* LABOUR MONTHLY. *We feel sure that this plan will meet with a ready response not only from our readers but from a still wider circle who have not yet heard of the* LABOUR MONTHLY *but who, on buying such reprints, would desire to become a subscriber to the journal which was the source of such a pamphlet.*

In this way we hope not only still further to develop our circulation, but to popularise much more widely the policy for which the LABOUR MONTHLY *stands.*

But these reprints would mean the sinking of a certain amount of capital. We are hampered from going ahead for lack of this capital. This also stands in the way of many other plans we have for developing circulation.

Help us therefore to make the LABOUR MONTHLY *more widely known. Become a guarantor or send in a donation. Write or call for any further information, offers of voluntary help, how to build our circulation or more about the guarantee plan and our pamphlet series, to the Manager, 7 John Street, London, W.C.*1.

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THE WAR CRISIS[1]

R. P. Dutt's Letter to the Labour Monthly Conference

DEAR COMRADES,

The urgency of the war-crisis transforms all questions before the working class movement and the task before the present Conference.

The war question is an emergency question. But it is no isolated emergency question replacing or cutting across the existing issues of the capitalist offensive which this Conference was originally called to discuss. On the contrary, all the existing issues of wages, hours, speeding-up, tariffs, police attacks, &c., which go forward with redoubled force, become now part of the war question, a direct part of the war preparations of the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and for the working class, an essential part of the front for the fight against war. *The capitalist offensive merges into the war offensive.*

Why do we say that the fight against war is now the supreme issue facing the working class? The concrete evidence of the situation should be familiar to everyone here present—the Far Eastern War; the military occupation of Manchuria as a vassal state of imperialism with massing of troops and White Russian armed formations; the strategic moves and military preparations of all the imperialist Powers; the open war-complicity of the League of Nations; the situation in Central and South Eastern Europe; the forming of blocs; the rising activity in the armaments industries.

All these are only signs and symptoms of where the world situation is moving. From the outset we declared that if the workers were unable to defeat the capitalist offensive arising from the crisis, then the success of the capitalist policies,

[1]Owing to the continued illness of R.P.D. this letter of his, addressed to the Second LABOUR MONTHLY Conference on April 16th, is printed in substitution of the "Notes of the Month." A report of the Conference is given elsewhere in this issue.

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which could nevertheless realise no pacific, harmonious solution of the crisis, but only intensify the antagonisms, would at once bring sharply to the front the drive to war. All the preliminary stages of conflict, the tariff warfare, the fight over gold, over debts and reparations, bore their plain line of direction. Capitalism in crisis, and in growing recklessness of policy, is drawing closer and closer to the question of the re-division of the world; at the same time the gulf between the two systems, capitalism and socialism, grows daily greater; and wider and wider circles of capitalists, faced with the bankruptcy of their own system, and the success of socialism, see no answer, and begin openly to proclaim that there is no answer, save the forcible destruction of socialism. The Far Eastern War is only the breaking out at the most explosive point of the whole world situation of capitalism; it is no local conflict, but the expression and signal of the world situation. *The war-crisis is the continuation and widening of the world crisis of capitalism.*

Remember—the capitalists are to-day the *machine wreckers*, the destructive force in human society. All their most typical modern policy, from super-tariffs and debt-enslavement of whole states to burning foodstuffs and devastating cotton plantations, from dismantling plant and machinery to throwing millions of skilled and able workers on the scrap-heap of starvation, is a policy of destruction of human effort and labour, strangling of production, destruction of life. *War is only a continuation of this policy.* It is no far step from spending millions of pounds to buy up machinery in order to destroy it, to spending millions to produce guns and warships and munitions to be blown up into the air. It is no far step from condemning millions of human beings to the death-in-life of unemployment as "superfluous," to the final solution of disposing of their lives and bodies by bomb and gas and chemical, for the greater profit of whatever group of capitalists can gain most in the re-division of the world by the holocaust. To-day they are burning wheat and grain, the means of human life. To-morrow they will be burning millions of living human beings.

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One of the most " enlightened " " distinguished " statesmen of Western " civilisation," Caillaux, addresses a gathering of prominent economists and politicians in London to advocate as the sole solution of the crisis the suppression of technical development, the stopping of inventions by state action, the imposing of prohibitory taxation on all new inventions, the forcible restriction of machines. This is the " last word " of capitalist economic wisdom ! And the purveyor of capitalist corruption to the masses, the *Daily Herald*, repeats this line, the line of the crusade against machines and mechanical inventions and science as the enemy.

This is already the full line of war. It is the line of destruction and death. Destruction is the only solution seen. The supreme destruction is war. War is for them the supreme solution of the crisis.

Where does this line of capitalist destruction lead ? It leads straight to the war on the Soviet Union. For the Soviet Union is to-day the centre of the machine, of technical advance and development, of productive advance. Therefore the Soviet Union must be destroyed. With the cold ghastly logic of insanity Caillaux in the same speech points straight to the goal, to the Soviet Union as the supreme enemy, " that great State in Eastern Europe which with infantile pride dares to proclaim the gospel of happiness by technical development."

Let no worker mistake the magnitude of the issues with which we are faced. The whole of human culture, the whole future of humanity, is in danger of destruction by capitalist barbarism. No devastation by natural forces, or by the most destructive barbarian raids of any period, can compare with what capitalism is preparing to let loose upon the world, and above all against the sole focus and fortress of social and technical development, the Soviet Union. On our shoulders, on each one of us, rests the responsibility to defeat this menace, the greatest menace in human history, and to save the future of the human race. These sound large words. They are a literal description of present-day facts.

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We are in the midst of the first stage of the war-crisis. There are fools who ask, "Is world war really coming?" "Is all this war-talk not merely a scare?" As if the question at issue were a mere question of prophecy, of idle passive speculation as to probabilities. That is not the issue. We do not set out to be prophets of the day and hour of the outbreak of world war. The outbreak of war depends upon a thousand factors, but it depends upon one factor above all others, the degree of readiness and resistance of the working class who can alone prevent it. Our task is not to prophesy. Our task is to expose the realities of the present situation, of where capitalism is going, the war already developed, the further war preparing and *to call to the fight, to press forward the fight, to defeat the war offensive.*

There are others who argue "War means Revolution—Speed the Day!" To argue thus now is madness. War means revolution? *Only* if the revolutionary working class is so strong, ready, conscious, with its own formed organisation and leadership, as, not only not to be swept aside by the flood of war-lies and corruption, but to be able to take the offensive, to transform the fight from imperialist war to civil war. Unless this point is reached, war means the triumph of capitalist destruction. But this point is only likely to be reached, in proportion as the fight *before* the outbreak of war is strong, as the fighting front, the fighting organs, the fighting Party of the workers are already in action. This is the practical issue that concerns us now.

The same for those who say "If war comes, then ——." "Then" is too late. That was the lesson of 1914. On the intensity of the fight now, on the active struggle (not merely propaganda) of the present stage before the outbreak of war depends the possibility of struggle at the outbreak.

The lies of war-propaganda of the bourgeoisie are already filtering down to the workers. "War means Work." That is already war-propaganda of imperialism in its ugliest and most cynical form. Are we succeeding in our task to defeat even this? What, then, when the full flood of war-lies and

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passions and corruptions are let loose? Before the country is yet directly involved in war, while there are still nominally conditions of peace, it is possible for such an argument to be presented and repeated and actually discussed, *that murder is the only way to provide men and women with work and wages*, and for such an argument not to meet with universal execration and anger from the entire working class against whoever dares to utter it. That is already a measure of the advance of war propaganda.

We are already in the midst of the first stage of the war-crisis. *What are we going to do about it?* That is the question which this Conference must face, seriously, anxiously, practically.

What is the working class movement doing? What is the line?

There is the Labour Party line. We all know it. What are the Labour Party and Trade Unions doing in face of the war that has already broken out, the war preparations that go forward, the world war that threatens to break out? They preach trust in the Government, and trust in the League of Nations—*i.e.*, trust in imperialism which is preparing war. Whether as Government or as "Opposition" they assist the preparation of war in every detail. They deny the closeness of war, deny the offensive against the Soviet Union, and at the same time they carry on propaganda against the Soviet Union. They assist the strangling of the workers' struggle, and the binding in chains of the workers' trade unions to the capitalist state machine, that is, to the war machine. They have already shown that they go far beyond the line of betrayal of 1914, in that they now actively support and assist imperialism and war before the outbreak of war.

The line of the Labour Party and the Trade Union bureaucracy in face of the war-offensive is the continuation of their line in face of the whole capitalist offensive—to disarm and disorganise the workers' resistance, and actively assist the offensive.

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What of "Left Labour," of the Independent Labour Party and the pacifists? Many workers of Socialist sympathies listen to these. They preach against war in general. They preach against violence. They call on the workers to take no part in war. Is this line a line of struggle against war? No: it is in fact a line of most vital support of imperialist war-preparations, and disarming of the workers.

Pacifism is only the other face of imperialism. All the bourgeoisie is pacifist. Briand, MacDonald, Chamberlain, Cecil, Baldwin—all the vultures of imperialism proclaim their pacifism, preach against war, and proclaim the beauties of peace. At the same time they not only push forward preparations for war, they make war daily on the hundreds of millions of subject Colonial peoples; the war machine of the British Empire is never out of action. What is the meaning of this swindle of bourgeois pacifism, which every serious worker knows to be a swindle? Is there a contradiction between the pacifist phrases and the war-like acts? No: there is really no contradiction; they are two halves of a single policy. The pacifism is for the masses, to lull their consciousness, to disarm their resistance, to make them passive docile slaves. The war-like policy is the real policy of imperialism, which these same pacific statesmen pursue in their daily practice. This is the basic lie of all bourgeois pacifism, of all pacifism which is based on the maintenance of the capitalist state, and therefore of war.

Labour pacifism, I.L.P. Pacifism, is only the echo, the servile repetition of bourgeois pacifism. It preaches pacifism, non-resistance to the workers, at the same time as it preaches support of the capitalist state, the engine of war.

This is true of the most "revolutionary"-sounding left pacifism, of "no more war," "boycotting war," "non-violence" and "non-resistance." All this is a hypocritical swindle, is in fact support of imperialism, and therefore support of war. What does this line mean? *The imperialists are to maintain their wholesale system of violence and war without*

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resistance from the workers. This is the heart of all pacifism. Not against the daily violence of capitalism and imperialism, but against the resistance of the workers and the subject peoples, it is against this that pacifism is directed.

The truth of this was once and for all exposed, when the principal leaders and heroes of the " No More War " movement, the Lansburys and Ponsonbys, as Government Ministers, carried out the most unexampled terror and violence against the Indian masses, dealt slaughter from the air against the defenceless villages, and poured out hundreds of millions to forward war-preparations, poison-gas and chemical warfare. At the same time their colleagues, the Independent Labour Party, and the pacifists, were busy exhorting, in union with Gandhi, the Indian masses to abstain from violence ! And when the elections came, the same Independent Labour Party and the pacifists called on the electors to return a third Labour Government to carry on the bloody work. Could there be a more complete proof that pacifism is the twin ally of the bloodiest imperialism ?

What does this bloody record of pacifism in practice prove ? That there is in reality no road without violence in the present world of capitalist violence. (Did not Gandhi, the world prophet of pacifism and the Independent Labour Party, declare, when defending his approval of the savage imperialist sentences on the Garwhali soldiers whose only crime was to refuse to fire upon their fellow Indians ; " I cannot ask officials and soldiers to disobey, for when I am in power, I shall in all likelihood make use of the same officials and the same soldiers ? " Here speaks the authentic voice of pacifism, the cover of class-violence and class rule.) There can be no road without violence in the present world of capitalist violence and class rule. The issue is not one of " Violence " or " non-Violence." This is an imaginary issue invented to deceive. The only question is : *On whose side ?* On the side of the exploiting minority ? Or on the side of the exploited masses ? The road of the exploiters means the ***maximum*** violence, bloodthirsty terrorism, and destruction,

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and world war involving the slaughter of tens of millions, leading only to chaos, heavier subjection and new slaughter. The road of the mass revolution means the *minimum* of violence (the Russian Revolution, with its world historical achievement, did not from first to last cost one-thousandth part of the bloodshed of the imperialist world war with its senseless butchery), the overthrow of the causes of violence and war, the ending of class rule and class violence, the advance to world socialism and peace. Who that sincerely hates war and violence, that seriously fights against war, can hesitate to choose?

This is the revolutionary path, this is the path of the working class—neither imperialist patriotism, nor pacifism, but the active mass-fight for the destruction of imperialism and the victory of socialism. We must decide, one and all here present, and we must win and convince all the workers that we can reach, that we reject alike imperialist patriotism, and pacifism, its ally; that we will fight with every weapon, but in one war only, against imperialism, for socialism, in union with our fellow workers in every country and in the Soviet Union; for the destruction of British Imperialism for the destruction of imperialism and the victory of the Socialist Revolution. The fight against war is linked up with the whole fight of the working class for freedom. The fight against war is for us the fight against British Imperialism, our enemy, against the British capitalist class.

This struggle is not a question of the future. Its opening stages are already here. The strength of our mobilisation and action in the opening stages is decisive for the whole future of the struggle.

British Imperialism is already pressing forward war, is practically assisting Japanese Imperialism in its armed aggression, has concentrated troops and warships on China, is dispatching munitions, is pressing forward war-preparations on a whole series of fronts against the Soviet Union. We must counter these moves by the action of the working class. We must awaken the workers to the realities

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and urgency of the present situation. We must defeat the doubts, hesitation and passivity which smooth the way to war. We must prepare the minds of the workers for the issues in front, against the lies of war propaganda, of pacifism, of the League of Nations, of " no more war " talk and the like, and for the revolutionary task of the fight against war. Above all, we must develop the active struggle against the present moves of imperialism ; every part of the active struggle against capitalism assists the fight against war, but we must above all centre the fight on the war-industries, munitions and the transport of munitions.

These practical issues are the final test of the success of our agitation and the seriousness of our fight against war.

At this Conference we should above all discuss the practical problems of the struggle against the present war-offensive ; in particular :

(1) What is the reaction of the workers to present events ? What are the tasks of our propaganda (arguments to be met, and how to meet them) ? How can we strengthen our agitation ?

(2) What steps must be taken to organise the active struggle against the war-measures of imperialism, especially in connection with the war-industries and the transport of Munitions ?

I hope that the Conference will grapple closely and seriously with these questions.

R. P. Dutt.

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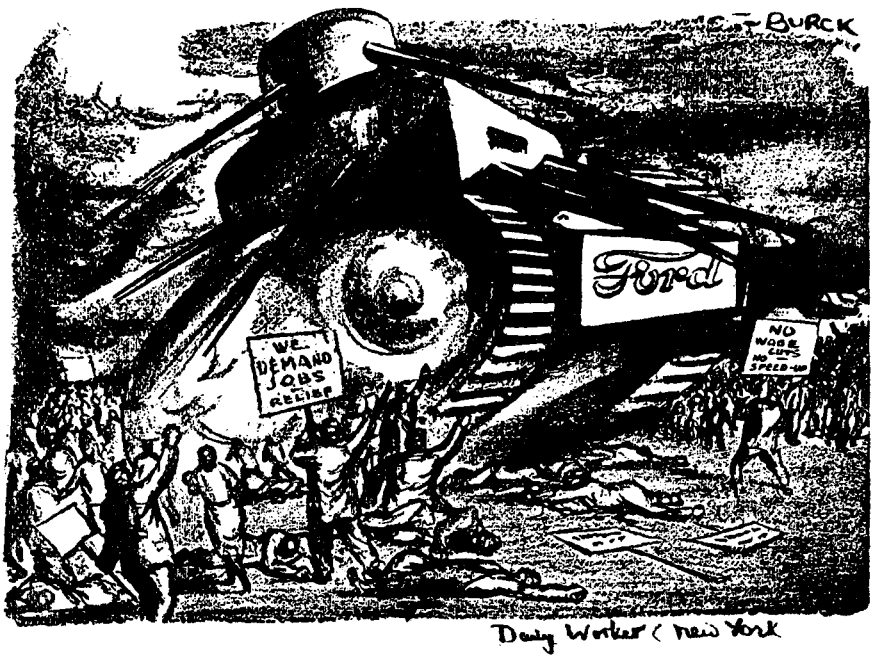
The Prussian Social Democratic Government has increased the Police budget, while it has reduced the budget for the feeding of children in elementary schools to .03 pfennigs (.005d.) per month for each child.

"The Problem of School Feeding"

—*Pravda*, Moscow.

FORD'S NEW MODEL, 1932



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"THE DEFENCE OF THE FATHERLAND"

By N. LENIN

[*This article, which has been specially translated for the* LABOUR MONTHLY *from the Russian, comprises the first section of an article, apart from a short introduction, written by Lenin at the beginning of October,* 1916, *under the title of :* " *A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism.*" *It was first published in* 1924 *in the journal* SVYESDA (*Star*), *No.* 1 *and* 2. *It was written in reply to an article by P. Kiyevsky* (*Piatakov*) *entitled :* " *The Proletariat and the Right of the Nations to Self-Determination in the Epoch of Finance-Capital.*" *Both were to have appeared in No.* 3 *of* SBORNIK SOZIALDEMOCRATA, *but this number was never issued as the* 1917 *Revolution brought to an end the publication abroad of this periodical.*]

P. KIYEVSKY is convinced, and wants to convince his readers that " he is in disagreement " only with the right of nations to self-determination, with paragraph nine of our party programme. He trys with much heat to rebut the accusation that he has made any fundamental retreat from Marxism *in general* on the question of democracy, that he is a " traitor " (the poisonous quotation marks are his own) to Marxism on any basic issue. But the fact of the matter is that so soon as he starts giving vent to his disagreement, pretending it is only about a partial or special question, so soon as he comes with his arguments and objections, &c., it turns out that he is deviating from Marxism right along the line. Let us take paragraph C (Section 2) in his article.

" This demand (that is to say, the self-determination of nations) leads directly (!) to social-patriotism "—so our author pronounces, and explains that the " traitorous " slogan of defence of the fatherland is a conclusion " drawn with absolutely (!) logical (!) justice from the right of nations to self-determination." In his opinion self-determination is :

> The sanctioning of the treachery of the French and Belgian social-patriots who, with arms in their hands, defend their independence (the national State independence of France and Belgium)—they are *doing* what the adherents of " self-determination " only speak of. . . . Defence of the fatherland belongs to the arsenal of our worst enemies. . . . We resolutely refuse to understand how one can be *simultaneously* against the defence of the fatherland and for self-determination, for the fatherland and against it.

So P. Kiyevsky writes. He has clearly failed to understand our resolutions against the slogan of defence of the fatherland in the present

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war. So I have to take what is written in black and white in these resolutions, and explain once more the purport of the clear Russian words.

The resolution of our Party adopted at the Berne Conference in March, 1915, and entitled " On the slogan of the defence of the fatherland " begins with the words : " The real essence of the present war consists in," and so on.

The question at issue is the present war. It is impossible to say this more clearly in the Russian language. The words, " the real essence," show that it is necessary to distinguish the apparent from the real, the superficiality from the essence, the phrase from the fact. In the present war the phrase " the defence of the fatherland " falsely makes out the imperialist war of 1914-16—a war for the partition of colonies, for the acquisition of foreign lands, &c.—to be a national war. In order to leave out the smallest possibility of a distortion of our views, the resolution adds a special clause on " *genuinely* national wars," which " took place *especially* (note that " especially " does not mean exclusively) in the epoch from 1789 to 1871."

The resolution explains that " at the basis " of these " genuinely " national wars, " was a long process of mass national movements, of struggle with absolutism and feudalism, the overthrow of national oppression."

That is quite clear ? In the present imperialist war, which has been engendered by all the conditions of the imperialist epoch, that is to say, it has not appeared accidentally, it is not an exception, it is not a deviation from the general and typical, the phrases concerning the defence of the fatherland are a deception of the people, for this war is not national. In a *genuinely* national war the words " defence of the fatherland " are in no way a deception, and we are in no way against it. Such (genuinely national) wars occurred " especially " during the years 1789 to 1871, and the resolution, while not by a single word rejecting their possibility even to-day, explains how a genuinely national war has to be distinguished from an imperialist war disguised by pseudo-national slogans. For this special purpose of distinguishing, one has to consider whether " at their basis " lies a " long process of mass national movements," " the overthrow of national oppression." In the resolution on " pacifism " it says directly :

> The Social-Democrats cannot reject the positive importance of revolutionary wars, *i.e.*, not imperialist wars but such as were conducted for example (note that " for example ") from 1789 to 1871 as struggles to overthrow national oppression.

Could the resolutions of our party adopted in 1915 speak of national wars, examples of which occurred from 1789 to 1871, and point out that we do not reject the positive importance of such wars, if such wars were

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THE LABOUR MONTHLY

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not recognised as possible to-day also? It is clear that this could not have been so.

The brochure of Lenin and Zinoviev, "Socialism and war," is a commentary to, *i.e.*, a popular explanation of, the resolutions of our party. On page five of this brochure is written in black and white that:

> Socialists have recognised and still recognise the legality, the progressiveness, the justice of defence of the fatherland or defensive wars *only* in the sense of the "overthrow of an alien national oppression."

The example is quoted of Persia against Russia and similar cases, and the brochure goes on:

> These would be just and defensive wars *irrespective* of who was the first aggressor, and every socialist would sympathise with the victory of the oppressed, the dependent States deprived of full rights as against the oppressor, enserfing, depredatory "great" powers.

The brochure appeared in August, 1915, and was published in German and French. P. Kiyevsky knows it well. Not once has either he or anyone else made objections to us either against the resolution on the slogan of defence of the fatherland, or against the resolution on pacifism, or against the elucidation of these resolutions in the brochure. Not once! We may ask, are we slandering Kiyevsky in saying that he has completely failed to understand Marxism, when this writer, who, since March, 1915, has made no objection to our party's views on the war, now, in August, 1916, in an article on the self-determination of nations, *i.e.*, in an article ostensibly on a sectional question, reveals an astonishing misunderstanding of the question in general?

P. Kiyevsky calls the slogan, "the defence of the fatherland," "traitorous." We can calmly assure him that *any* slogan is, and always will be, "traitorous" for those who mechanically repeat it, without understanding its significance, not thinking on the matter, restricting themselves to a memorisation of the words without an analysis of their sense.

What is the "defence of the fatherland," speaking generally? Is it some scientific conception from the realm of economics or politics or something of that kind? No! It is simply the most current, generally used, sometimes simply Philistine, expression, connoting the *justification of the war*. Nothing more, absolutely nothing! The "treachery" here can only be that the Philistines are capable of justifying *any* war, by saying: "we are defending the fatherland," whereas Marxism, which does not stoop to such Philistinism, demands an historical analysis of each separate war, in order to determine whether *that* war is progressive, serving the interests of democracy or the proletariat, and is *in this sense* justifiable, right, and so on.

The slogan of defence of the fatherland is purely and simply a reactionary petty bourgeois justification of war, through the inability historically to analyse the sense and significance of each separate war.

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Marxism gives such an analysis, and says: if "the real essence" of the war consists, *for example*, in the overthrow of foreign national rule (which was *especially* typical of Europe in the years 1789-1871) that war is progressive on the part of the oppressed State or nation. *If* the "real essence" of the war is the partitioning of colonies, the sharing out of the spoils, the despoliation of foreign lands (such is the present war) then the phrase "defence of the fatherland" is a "direct deception of the people."

How is the "real essence" of a war to be found, how is it to be determined? War is *the continuation of politics*. It is necessary to study the politics of the period before the war, the politics leading to and causing the war. If it was imperialist that is defending the interests of finance capital, plundering and oppressing colonies and foreign countries, then the war arising out of that policy is an imperialist war. If the policy was one of national emancipation, *i.e.*, expressing the mass movement against national oppression, then the war arising out of such a policy is a war for national liberation.

The Philistine does not realise that war is a "continuation of politics" and so he restricts himself to the remark, "the enemy attacked," "the enemy invaded my country," not realising what the war is being waged for, and by *what* classes, on account of *what* political end. Kiyevsky stoops completely to the level of such Philistinism, when he says that the Germans occupied Belgium, which means, from the point of view of self-determination, that the "Belgian social-patriots are right"; or, that the Germans have occupied part of France, which means that "Guesde can be satisfied," for "the war is reaching territory inhabited by this people" (but not a foreign one).

For the Philistine the important question is, "*Where* are the armies, who is *now* winning?" For the Marxist the important question is: What is the *given* war being waged about, irrespective of who, at the moment, is victorious?

What is the present war being waged about? That is indicated in our resolution (which is based on the policy of the warring countries, the policy which they carried on for decades before the war). Britain, France and Russia are fighting for the retention of the colonies they have stolen, for the pillaging of Turkey and so on. Germany is fighting to win colonies for itself and itself to pillage Turkey and so on. Let us assume that the Germans even take Paris and Petersburg. Will the character of the present war be changed thereby? Not in the least. The purpose of the Germans (and, what is still more important, the policy realisable through the victory of the Germans) will then be the taking of colonies, hegemony in Turkey, the taking of alien national

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regions, Poland, for example, but not in the least the establishment of an alien national oppression over the French or Russians. The real essence of the present war is not national, but imperialist. In other words: the war is being waged not because one country is overthrowing national oppression whilst the other is defending it. The war is being waged between two groups of oppressors, between two robbers over the question of who shall divide the spoils, who shall pillage Turkey and the colonies.

In brief: war *between* imperialist great powers (*i.e.*, powers oppressing a whole series of foreign peoples, entangling them in the nets of dependence upon finance-capital and so on) or a war *in alliance* with such powers is an imperialist war. Such is the war of 1914-1916. "Defence of the fatherland" is a deception in *this* war, it is its justification.

War *against* the imperialist, *i.e.*, the oppressing powers, waged by the oppressed (for example, the colonial peoples), is a *truly national* war. Such a war is also possible to-day. The "defence of the fatherland" on the part of a nationally oppressed country against the one nationally oppressing it, is not a deception, and socialists are *in no way against* the "defence of the fatherland" in *such* a war.

The self-determination of nations is the same as the struggle for complete national liberation, for complete independence, against annexations, and socialists *cannot* reject *such* a struggle—in any of its forms, right down to insurrection or war—without ceasing to be socialists.

P. Kiyevsky thinks that he is fighting Plekhanov; for Plekhanov pointed to the connection between the self-determination of nations and the defence of the fatherland! Kiyevsky believed Plekhanov in thinking that this connection was *really such* as Plekhanov represents it. After thus putting his trust in Plekhanov, Kiyevsky took fright and decided that it is necessary to reject self-determination in order to save oneself from Plekhanov's conclusions. . . . A great confidence in Plekhanov, a great fright also, but not a trace of reflection as to where Plekhanov had gone wrong!

In order to represent this present war as a national one, the social-chauvinists refer to the self-determination of nations. There is only one correct struggle with them: that is to point out that this struggle is not over the liberation of nations, but to decide who of the great despoliators shall oppress the nations *the most*. To reach the conclusion that it is necessary to reject a war *really* carried on over the liberation of a nation results in the worst caricature of Marxism. Plekhanov and the French social-chauvinists refer to the republic in France in order to justify its "defence" against the monarchy in Germany. If we argue as Kiyevsky argues, then we ought to be against a republic or against a war

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which really is waged for the maintenance of a republic! The German social-chauvinists refer to the universal franchise and the compulsory education of all in Germany, in order to justify the " defence " of Germany against tsarism. If we argue as Kiyevsky argues, then we must either be against universal franchise and compulsory education, or else against a war *really* carried on in order to defend political liberty from attempts to take that liberty away!

Until the war of 1914-1916, Karl Kautsky was a Marxist, and a whole series of important works and pronouncements by him will remain for ever examples of Marxism. On August 26, 1910, Kautsky wrote in *Die Neue Zeit* on the question of the approaching and threatening war:

> In a war between Germany and England the question will be not democracy but world hegemony, that is to say, the exploitation of the world. That is not a question in regard to which the social-democrat should stand on the side of the exploiters of their own nation.

There you have an excellent Marxist formulation, completely agreeing with our views, completely unmasking the *present* Kautsky, who has turned from Marxism to the defence of social-chauvinism (we shall return to this formulation) and quite definitely explaining the principles of the Marxist attitude to war. Wars are the continuation of politics; consequently, once there is a struggle for democracy, a war over democracy is also possible; the self-determination of nations is only one of the democratic demands, in no way differing in principle from the others. " World Hegemony " is, to put it briefly, the content of the imperialist policy of which the imperialist war is the continuation. To reject the " defence of the fatherland," *i.e.*, participation in a democratic war, is a stupidity which has nothing in common with Marxism. To white-wash the imperialist war by applying the conception of the " defence of the fatherland " to it, *i.e.*, by representing it to be a democratic war, is equivalent to deceiving the workers, and passing over to the side of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

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THE WAR FRONT IN THE WEST

By R. BRIDGEMAN

(Secretary, British Section, League against Imperialism)

"AGAINST whom," was the question asked by George Lansbury, leader of the Labour Party, in the House of Commons on March 22, 1932. "Against whom, in the judgment of the Government, were the nations of the world arming? Against whom are France, Italy, and ourselves arming? It cannot be against Germany; and if against each other, what are the questions which are going to bring about a war between these nations?"

The British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon, stated in reply that British policy in international affairs was now and had been for years based upon the League of Nations and British international action wherever possible had been taken with the League and through the League.

Since the imperialist war broke out last September in the Far East, it has been steadily growing in scale and intensity and the danger of other States besides China and Japan being involved in it becomes more and more pressing.

One of the most important features of the present world situation is the grouping of the European States which has been effected with a view to transforming the imperialist attack on China into an intervention against the Soviet Union, into a world war.

The motive for the diplomatic activity of the imperialist powers in Europe in conjunction with concentration of imperialist forces in the Far East is the growing tension between two economic systems in a world economic crisis of unprecedented gravity. Capitalism decaying to the verge of bankruptcy, when the larger States only preserve their balance by advancing more and more money to the smaller states, *e.g.*, Austria, Hungary and Greece, to enable them to pay their debts to themselves, is challenged by constructive and expanding Socialism, triumphantly tested throughout the Soviet Union. The capitalist states of Europe see no way out of the crisis in which they are all engulfed except to strike at the Soviet Union which is attracting the sympathy and active support of the world proletariat. Capitalism must be stabilised or it will disappear. Capitalism therefore must fight Socialism to live.

In order to appreciate the nature of the capitalist menace to the Soviet Union the grouping of the European states must be examined.

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League of Nations

Chief among the groups is the League of Nations, predominantly European in character, whose history during the last few years shows that it is falling more and more under the dominance of the Great European Powers and assuming a more and more anti-Sovietic character. The following episodes in its recent history illustrate this. After Geneva had turned down the Soviet plan for universal disarmament the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, on the recent resumption of the Disarmament Conference, enquired whether all the States represented were ready for a partial but substantial reduction of their armaments, and he felt it necessary to point out that if the answer were again in the negative it would be impossible to conceal that the Disarmament Conference had failed.

The Commission of Enquiry for European Union which met at the beginning of 1931 to study the world economic crisis as it affected European countries occupied two whole days in discussing whether or not the Soviet Union, Turkey and Iceland should be invited to participate in the study. When it was eventually decided to invite their participation, the delegates of Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Switzerland, Sweden, Yugo-Slavia and the Netherlands made a reservation to the effect that they considered the invitation premature, but the real opposition to the participation of Russia came from France.

The general attitude of the League Assembly led M. Litvinov to enquire in a Note accompanying his Government's acceptance of the invitation whether the proposed European federation meant a single grouping of European states or two opposing groups. " It seems strange and incomprehensible," he wrote, " that one group of European States should take upon itself to decide as to the admission or non-admission of another group of European States into a community calling itself Pan-European. More especially so when a country like Switzerland, occupying four-tenths of 1 per cent. of the territory of Europe, or Norway occupying about 3.1 per cent., opposes the admission of a state like the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The scheme for a League of Nations which originated with President Woodrow Wilson must clearly be universal if it is to be successful, and so long as countries of the magnitude of the Soviet Union, Turkey, and the United States of America are not members, the League is merely an instrument of imperialist policy. The war now raging in the Far East has proved the imperialist and therefore the warlike nature of the League of Nations, because it has supported the policy of conquest and territorial aggrandisement which Japan is pursuing.

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The Anglo-French Alliance

If it was true to say that the large number of special alliances precipitated the outbreak of the world-war, it must be observed that the number of these alliances has increased ten-fold in ten years. Notwithstanding the imperialist rivalry which has marked the relations between France and England both in Europe and outside it, Mr. MacDonald and Monsieur Laval managed to conclude a pact which, since the latter was succeeded in February in the Prime Ministership of France by M. Tardieu, has assumed the aspect of an alliance. The British public had been to some extent prepared for this development by an important series of articles from General Spears, M.P., significantly published in February by the *Daily Telegraph*. Because close co-operation between France and Britain is an essential factor in the world-wide anti-Soviet campaign, in the conduct of which France has taken so active a part, M. Tardieu has twice offered to Britain an " entente generale." He did so first in definite terms, and when Britain appeared to be somewhat taken aback at the prospect, he did so again indirectly in connection with the Danube Federation Scheme, which will be dealt with later in this article.

The Little Entente

The Little Entente between Czecho-Slovakia, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania was formed in 1920 because of the danger of a Hapsburg restoration in Hungary and also to counteract the projected Customs Union between Austria and Germany. With the defeat of the project for the Austro-German Anschluss and the passing of the threat of a Hapsburg restoration, the Little Entente under the tutelage of France has assumed an increasingly anti-Soviet character, especially since the orientation of Germany, under the clerical leadership of Dr. Bruening, into the concert of anti-Soviet nations.

In addition to giving diplomatic direction to the policy of the Little Entente, France has concluded a series of Treaties of Security beginning with the secret Military Agreement with Belgium in 1920. This was followed by separate Treaties of Alliance with Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Yugo-Slavia, while a French naval mission was sent to Roumania with the special idea of developing Constanza as a naval base, and French military missions in Warsaw, Prague, Belgrade and Bucharest are organising and co-ordinating the armies of what M. Paul Boncour described as France's " cortège habituel." These treaties of security were originally concluded as part of France's policy of encirclement aimed against Germany, but with the growth of the identity of interests between the capitalists, and especially between the metallurgical industrialists of Germany and France, the treaties are now being utilised in the anti-Russian campaign.

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In connection with the development of a naval base on the Roumanian coast of the Black Sea at Constanza, a British fleet visited this port in 1930, and last year the British Labour Government sent Admiralty representatives to Bucharest to work out a plan for the use of the Roumanian Black Sea base by British naval forces in the event of war against the Soviet Union, and in return for certain concessions by Britain to the Roumanian oil-industry it was understood that in future all Roumanian warships would be built in Britain.

In protection against this naval menace in the Black Sea the Soviet and Turkish Republics entered into an agreement not to construct or have constructed abroad any kind of warship destined to reinforce their naval strength in the Black Sea. They also undertook not to adopt any measure that would increase their naval strength in the Black Sea and adjacent waters without giving each other six months' notice in advance.

The Baltic Bloc

It has been the policy of Poland to draw together and strengthen the Baltic bloc. France has encouraged this policy. The Polish population is 32,000,000 and the total population of the border states is 65,000,000. It will be the endeavour of the imperialist powers to use these border peoples as shock troops if the menace to the Soviet Union develops into war. Poland has territorial ambitions and would like to bring the whole of the Ukraine under her control. Communism in the border states has been ruthlessly attacked. In the dungeons of Poland there are more than 10,000 political prisoners, while a similar persecution of militant workers is taking place in Finland, Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia. In Latvia a new penal code has been introduced which is much more rigorous than the old Tsarist Penal Code. The worsening of the prison régime is a definite part of the bourgeois onslaught on the revolution.

French and British imperialists have been busy in the border states and their activities have not been confined to diplomacy. British, American and French money has been lavishly loaned to these countries. A retired British naval officer has been attached to the Finnish Ministry of Defence in an advisory capacity. Last June, the tenth birthday of the Latvian fleet was celebrated by festivities at Libau in which warships from seven countries took part—Britain, France, Germany, Poland, Sweden, Esthonia and Finland. The British Navy was represented by two cruisers at Libau and by one cruiser and four destroyers at Riga. The French sent two cruisers to Libau, which subsequently visited Riga as well, and a German cruiser and four destroyers visited Latvian waters at the same time as the British and French warships. The British Admiral was the Senior Naval Officer and the spokesman of the foreign visitors. This visit naturally aroused much notice in Russia, and it was referred to in the Soviet Press as " another hostile demonstration."

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Railway Development in the Border States

For ten years Latvia had been endeavouring to raise a loan in London for the purpose of railway development, but her attempts were unsuccessful because the London market refused to consider a loan so long as service and interest on the pre-war Riga debt was allowed to remain in default. So important, however, from the strategical point of view were Latvia's projected railway construction and the possibility of utilising the junction at Dunaburg to facilitate closer co-operation with Poland's military machine that last July a French financial group advanced 20,000,000 gold francs to Latvia for railway construction. Only 20 per cent. of this was paid in cash, the balance being received in the form of railway material supplied by French contractors.

War material is now being manufactured on a huge scale both in Czecho-Slovakia and in Roumania under French inspiration and guidance, the firms of Creusot, " La Lorraine " and Skoda working closely together. For the rapid transport of this war material railway communications in Eastern Europe must be improved. In addition to the Latvian railway projects mentioned above, development work is in progress on the two Polish strategical railways from Brest-Litovsk to Baranowicze and Brest-Litovsk to Rowno, while agreements for the lease of the Gdynia-Silesia Railway to a consortium under French control in return for a French loan to enable the line to be completed and opened for traffic without delay, were signed in Paris in March and April, 1931. This line is leased to a Franco-Polish company in which the French participants hold eight-fifteenths of the share capital, which was to be raised by the issue of bonds guaranteed by the Polish Government.

The construction of new railway lines in Slovakia is also being planned, while a new aerodrome is projected in Eastern Slovakia.

In March of this year a military conference took place in Prague at which representatives of the General Staffs of Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and Yugo-Slavia were present, under the chairmanship of a French officer, Colonel Rivière. The subject under discussion was the collaboration of the armies of the Little Entente with those of the Eastern Entente (Poland and the Baltic countries). The creation of a new Pan-Ukrainian Republic, to include the Soviet Ukraine, was also discussed. This new State would be independent in name, but the League of Nations would confer the mandate for its administration on Poland.

Roumania, until 1925, imported most of her armaments from abroad, but during the past few years she has developed her own war-industries on a wide scale both by reconditioning old factories in the Banat and Transylvania and by building new ones equipped with machinery specially provided by Schneider and Skoda. Her military expenditure, which

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represented 15.8 per cent. of the total budget in 1925, rose to 24.1 per cent. in 1930 and to 32.2 per cent. in 1931. Roumania is also building strategical roads and in order to link up Constanza with Bessarabia a new railway line is to be constructed from Babadagh to Tulcea.

Before the commencement of the Disarmament Conference the Soviet Government negotiated non-aggression Treaties with Poland, Finland, Latvia and France, but Poland and France decline to sign until Roumania should have concluded a Pact of non-aggression with the Soviet Union. Negotiations between Russia and Roumania were started in Riga in January, but owing to the difficulty of reaching agreement on the subject of Bessarabia the negotiations were suspended. A Non-Aggression Pact does not constitute a guarantee against war, but it does prevent government departments and the government press from preparing public opinion for a war against the country with which the Pact has been made and it does hinder war preparations. The policy of the U.S.S.R. in negotiating non-aggression Treaties with other states stands out in marked contrast to the policy of military alliances, for so many of which the imperialist powers have been responsible.

As regards Bessarabia its occupation by Roumania has never been accepted by Russia and official maps issued in Moscow show Bessarabia as part of the Soviet territory. Roumania's possession of this province is therefore *de facto* rather than *de jure*.

Danube Federation Scheme

Besides the political associations of states already mentioned there have been, mainly at French instigation, projected groupings of the European states on an economic basis. As a counter project to the suggested Austro-German customs union which caused real alarm in France, M. Briand in 1929, suggested an European Federal Union, and a detailed scheme for a Pan-European Union was submitted by the French delegation to the 11th Assembly of the League of Nations in September, 1930. This was followed by the plan for an international army to be equipped by France and placed at the disposal of the League of Nations. Such a force would clearly constitute a menace to those States which are not members of the League of Nations, and to the Soviet Union in particular.

The most recent proposal for a regrouping of the European States has been the Danubian Customs Scheme, which was hastened by the critical financial situation of many of the Central and Eastern European countries, as revealed by the report of the Financial Committee of the League of Nations. The Danube Scheme was defined in a memorandum by M. Tardieu containing suggestions for economic and financial reconstruction in Central and South-Eastern Europe, handed to the British delegation at Geneva on March 5.

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The discussion of the " Danube " scheme took place at a Conference of the representatives of Britain, France, Germany and Italy in London. This Conference had been preceded by the visit of the French Prime Minister to London with the object of ensuring British support for the French plan which clearly aimed at the domination of Eastern Europe and the establishment of a closely-united Anglo-French front for the maintenance of the Versailles system, which is directed both against the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., and for the repression of the proletarian movement wherever it might show itself in Europe. The impending general election in France will be conducted by M. Tardieu on the basis of anti-communism.

The Danube scheme came to nothing because, apart from the impossibility of concluding any effective plan for the economic rehabilitation of Eastern Europe without consultation and co-operation with the Soviet Union as the natural outlet for so much of the trade of the Danube basin, the French scheme was incompatible with the economic interests not only of Czecho-Slovakia and Austria, but also of Germany and Italy. So far the most conspicuous consequence of M. Tardieu's policy of recreating the Entente with England has been the development of a closer understanding between Germany and Italy.

The war manœuvres on the Western frontier of the U.S.S.R. are plain to all the world, but the belligerents of to-day despite treaties of military alliance, will not be states organised and allied upon a national basis, but the classes whom capitalism ranges in opposing camps. A war on the Soviet Union by a national government will be transformed into the class-war of revolution.

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How British Imperialism sees the Rôle of the League of Nations.

"The World's Fire Brigade (the League of Nations) fights an uphill battle."

—*North China Sunday News* (British owned).

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT SHANGHAI

"Allow me to drink to your health."

—*Vetchernaya Moskva*, Moscow.

JAPAN'S "EVACUATION"

"As you see, we are returning home."

—*Leningradskaya Pravda*, Leningrad.

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THE LEAGUE OF WAR

By WILLIAM JOSS

SINCE January, 1920, the capitalist class with the active assistance of the Labour Party and I.L.P. have systematically deceived the workers of Britain that with the creation of the League of Nations permanent peace was assured. The war of 1914-18 they stated was the last war—the war to end war. The actual growth of expenditure for armaments by the imperialist powers gives the lie to the Labour Party and I.L.P. pacifists and clearly shows that the League of Nations as organised pacifism is in reality the most menacing instrument of war preparation.

The disarmament conferences of the League are utilised by the imperialists to hide the growth of armaments and all the talk of peace and disarmament by the pacifists only cloak the hideous war preparations of the imperialists.

The following comparison of armament expenditure in 1914 and 1930 brings home very forcibly that the war to end war has been succeeded by the peace to end peace.

WAR EXPENDITURE

	1914.	1930.
	(in millions of £'s.)	
Great Britain ..	77	111
France ..	56	95
Japan ..	19	47
Italy ..	26	49
U.S.A. ..	58	133
Total ..	£236 millions.	£435 millions.

The whole system of the League of Nations since its inception has, in the main, been the instrument of British and French imperialism and its whole purpose is to retard the growth of the revolutionary crisis of capitalism and to prepare intervention against the Soviet Union. The rejection of the Soviet Union proposals for disarmament is only the continuation of the whole policy of the League—its Covenant, Articles, &c.—as an instrument in the preparation of war.

A perusal of the League of Nations Covenant, its alleged pact for outlawing war and the measures outlined by the League for armed sanctions, economic blockade, financial guarantees to provide resources of war, reveal the vile deception which is carried on in the name of peace and disarmament.

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The Covenant of the League is based on the continuation of the Versailles Treaty and the 26 Articles of Part I. of the Treaty are the machinery through which the Versailles Treaty is imposed upon Germany and the defeated nations of the last war. The principal executive body, the League Council, is dominated by the representatives of the victorious allies, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. This domination was utilised to create financial bankruptcy in the ex-enemy countries after the last war and the League Council, in controlling the finances of Austria, Hungary, Greece and other countries by the granting of loans, was to have made Europe safe for the operation of the finance-capital of the Allied countries. The continuation of the post-war crisis and the development of the general crisis of capitalism into a world economic and financial crisis has undermined the whole system of Versailles and further financial assistance is conditioned by political pressure for war against the Soviet Union.

Europe's "restoration" by the League since 1920 was effected by the blockade of Soviet Russia, the suppression of Soviet Hungary, and similar movements in Germany and Austria. The mortgaging of Germany, Austria and Hungary to Allied financiers, has been carried through by the operation of the Dawes and Young Plan reparation payments by Germany, and reconstruction loans to Austria and other countries.

The events in Shanghai and Manchuria during the past months and the murderous brutality of Japanese imperialism which receives the full support of Britain, France and the League, have their basis in the Covenant which defines the exploitation of the native races "as a sacred trust of civilisation."

The pacifists of the Labour Party and I.L.P. claim that the workers should support the League because it prevents war. Three years after the League was formed the New York *Nation* (June 6, 1923), wrote:

> Since the Treaty of Versailles was signed, eleven European states have resorted to arms to settle disputes with other powers and eight of these were members of the League. Three of the disputes were between members of the League—pledged by the Covenant never to resort to arms until after arbitration and inquiry by the League—and four other disputes were begun by members of it.

Neither in these cases nor in any subsequent cases has there been any effective protest or interference by the League. Article 13 of the Covenant never stopped war nor was it ever intended to do so. It only requires a reading of the Article 13 to convince any worker of this fact. For example the first clause of the Article reads as follows: "*The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be settled satisfactorily by diplomacy they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.*"

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Then in the closing paragraph it reads further: " In event of failure to carry out such award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

In the original draft of the Statute of the Permanent " Court of International Justice " (!) there was a clause containing a provision giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction in cases of breaking Article 13 of the Covenant, but in the Statute adopted at the First Assembly it disappeared and was replaced by the declaration which is generally known as the " Optional Clause."

In the most important conflicts which have taken place since the last war there has never been action taken by the League. As in the case of the Japanese aggression in China, when it has intervened, it has been with a Commission to condone the acts of its leading members.

There was no action by the League in the Polish war against Russia in 1920, nor in the French occupation of the Ruhr in 1921 and 1923, nor in the repeated outbreaks of war between Greece and Turkey in 1921-22, no protest against the bombardment and seizure of Corfu by Italy in 1923; their " sacred trust of civilisation " did not extend to the colonial war of France and Spain in Morroco against the Riffs nor to the people of Syria. The Polish seizure of Vilna by force of arms only resulted in a Commission and the acceptance of the *fait accompli*.

At the Conference in Geneva in 1925 on Commerce in Arms it was decided that the sale of arms should be conducted in a public manner *through Governments* with the exception that Poland, Roumania, Esthonia and Finland are not under any obligation of making known the quantity and nature of arms and war material purchased, these countries being exempted on the grounds of the danger of attack from the Soviet Union.

The drawing in of Germany into the League of Nations through the Locarno Pact was a further continuation of the military consolidation of the League against the Soviet Union, and any further doubt about the rôle of the League in preparing war is dispelled in reading the Text of the Treaty of Mutual Assistance which, in Article 2, reads: " *The High Contracting Parties, jointly and severally, undertake to furnish assistance, in accordance with the provisions of the present Treaty, to any one of their number should the latter be the object of a war of aggression, provided that it has conformed to the provisions of the present Treaty regarding the reduction and limitation of armaments.*" The decision of the Council of the League on April 12 to postpone until May the question of financial aid to Eastern Europe should deceive no one; it is already provided for by the League for war on the Soviet Union.

The numerous conferences and commissions held at Geneva, whether they deal with peace, disarmament, tariffs, war debts and reparations,

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all have one objective—the drive against the Soviet Union. This grouping of imperialist forces require the spreading of pacifist illusions in the minds of the working class and in this work the social democrats, Henderson and Co., along with their colleagues of the T.U.C. in the International Labour Office faithfully carry out the demands of their imperialist masters.

The actual preparatory work done by the League in the economic war against the Soviet Union was revealed in the Anti-Dumping campaign. This organisation of economic war against the import of Soviet goods, the charges of "dumping" and "forced labour" was the central feature of the Economic Conference of the League at Geneva in March, 1930. This conference was used as a screen in order further to organise war against the Soviet Union and was utilised by the reformists in every capitalist country to delude the workers into a belief that the Soviet Union was undercutting wages and conditions and was responsible for the increasing unemployment in capitalist countries.

The gang of financiers who pull the strings in the leading imperialist countries have also been conducting a financial war against the Soviet Union, first by exerting restrictions on credit facilities and by promising credit advances to the agrarian countries in Eastern Europe. The recent Danubian Federation proposals of credits revealed the subtle propaganda of the League imperialist powers, Britain and France, who suggested to the Danubian countries that the cause of all their troubles was the collectivised agriculture of the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union. The credits of the French and British banks flow to Japan in the Far East for her Manchurian campaign, as well as to the States of Eastern Europe for their military preparations for war against the Soviet Union.

All preparations of the League and its leading imperialist powers, Britain and France, who control its Council, lead straight to war against the Soviet Union. The war in Manchuria and at Shanghai is the overture of a new world war which is being fanned into a flame in Eastern Europe by the imperialist war-makers in an effort to solve the world economic crisis and to destroy the success of the revolutionary workers and peasants in building socialist economy in the Soviet Union. It has for its purpose not only the attack upon the workers' fatherland, the Soviet Union, but also the suppression of the revolt of the colonial peoples in China, India and the colonies; the redivision of the world as markets for the imperialist powers, and the crushing of the rising revolutionary upsurge of the workers in every capitalist country who are struggling against the capitalist offensive which places the whole burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the working class.

At this moment, when war is here now, the Labour Party and I.L.P. in preaching pacifism to the workers actually disarm the workers. The Trade Union leaders with their policy of industrial peace play their part

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also in disorganising and breaking the unity of the workers' struggle against capitalism which is the cause of war. The task of every militant worker is to strengthen the agitation against war, to rouse the workers against war, to break through the conspiracy of silence and the secrecy of war preparations and mobilise the workers in the struggle for the defence of the Chinese people and in defence of the Soviet Union.

Our main task is to hinder, to hold up the production and transport of munitions of war, to intensify the economic struggles of the workers in all industries who have had wage cuts imposed or wage cuts pending, to rally the unemployed with them in the fight against the Means Test, to carry thus the struggle into the factories, trade unions, and all working class organisations and destroy the bourgeois ideology of pacifism with which the Labour Party, I.L.P. and the trade union bureaucracy poison the minds of the workers and thereby assist the imperialists in their war preparations.

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THE WAR AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

By T. H. WINTRINGHAM

"WHEREAS the League of Nations has for its object the establishment of Universal Peace, and such a peace can be established only if based upon social justice . . ." Those are the first words of Part Thirteen of the Treaty of Versailles. The superstitious may think the phrasing was unlucky. Certainly it is a rash beginning. For, reading those words, everyone who knows why there are wars and social injustice in the world of to-day will expect the sentence to continue: " . . . the signatories to this Treaty agree that capitalism, exploitation, and imperialism must be ended." Instead of which the actual clause goes on to establish the International Labour Office!

This clause, from the brutal and despicable Treaty that gave legal sanction to the starvation, the vastly increased exploitation, the cruelties and ruin of post-war Europe, is quoted because it is typical of the policy and propaganda of all those who talk of peace and social justice while opposing the militant struggle of the working class.

This clause establishes an organisation which helps to rationalise capitalism. The International Labour Office helps also to bring the trade unions of the working class into " close co-operation " with (really, service to) those who live by profits sweated out of the working class. In these two ways, and in others, the office established by Part XIII. helps the imperialist war-makers to keep alive a little longer the cracking, unsteady system of their power. And under cover of the League's " Universal Peace " we have had war after war against the colonial peoples, the Black and Tans, Amritsar, Sholapur, Shanghai, and now stand at the beginning of a new and more terrible world war.

That is the use and outcome of all the " peace " talk, whether put forward by governments or by pacifists, by Labour parties of the present or by those who have used Labour politics as a way to power—for themselves. And this pacifist propaganda holds the workers back from action against war.

The struggle against war is therefore first a struggle against pacifism.

There is a wide and real horror and fear of war, deeply burned into the working class. This the pacifists and Labour parties use and direct towards their own ends. They secured nine-and-half million signatures for their women's appeal to the Geneva Disarmament Conference.

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The Labour and Socialist parties, before 1914, were pledged to a working class struggle against war. They betrayed that struggle when war broke out. To-day they have betrayed the struggle before war has fully begun. They are the advocates and the organisers of war, as well as the disorganisers of the workers through peace talk.

In the March A.E.U. Journal, the Editor (Mr. A. H. Smethurst, of the General Council of the T.U.C.) wrote :

> Those representing the various governments should not lose sight of the fact that ceasing to manufacture war material . . . must inevitably make more acute the problem of unemployment. . . .
>
> At the close of the Great War hundreds of thousands of men on returning home found there was no work to which they could return. . . .
>
> In the event of partial or total disarmament we venture to suggest no country in the world would be so hard hit, from an unemployment point of view, as our own. . . .
>
> Increased preparations for war mean regular and steady employment for the workpeople (in armament firms) and satisfactory dividends for the employers, and this is the fact that must be faced. . . .
>
> We urge a policy of gradualness in disarmament.

Could the argument that " war meant work " be more openly put ? Mr. Smethurst, of course, covers his " gradualness " with " full sympathy" for the " religious bodies " that are asking for disarmament. But the whole article, stripped of this hypocritical verbiage, is an open plea for big armaments—in the interests of " satisfactory dividends " as well as of work for engineers.

The Labour parties in each capitalist country vote the money for the troops and tanks. The Labour Government built or began many of the cruisers which are at Shanghai ; the Labour Government began the re-equipment of the Air Force with machines of high speed and increased range. At Geneva the leader of the Labour Party, as Chairman of the Disarmament Conference, works in the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles to make that Conference a " success " for imperialism.

Mr. Lees-Smith, Minister of Education in the Labour Government, has put up the fullest and frankest defence of Japan's invasion of Manchuria.

This defence of Japanese imperialism has been echoed by Blum and other French socialists.

Mr. Lansbury has suggested that the Japanese fight the Chinese in some other place than Shanghai—exactly the policy of British Imperialism.

All the Socialist parties support the next war step : the development of the war into an attack on the Soviet Union.

In the Parliament of Bucarest, King Carol's Prime Minister recently supported a deluge of press lies with a diatribe about alleged " massacres "

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by the Soviet authorities, of Moldavian (Bessarabian) refugees fleeing across the border to Roumania. The Socialist Miresco followed him—to defend the workers' republic? Of course not. To back up this corrupt prostitute government, and to state that his party was asking the Labour and Socialist International to protest against these "barbarous acts" of the Soviets.

Under cover of a bland impartiality the French Socialist Rosenfeld, in the last week in March, not only supported but "improved" on the press lies about these non-existent massacres. He was without "precise information," he said, as to the events in Roumania, but "assassinations are usual on all the Soviet frontiers"! For this he blamed "the inhuman policy of Stalin." Could any Locker-Lampson, any Bottomley, be more adroit in calumny against the Soviets, or more useful in the preparations for war on the U.S.S.R.?

Towards the end of the recent extraordinary session of the Japanese Parliament, the Socialist Kamei, in the name of the Japanese section of the Labour and Socialist International, renewed his party assurance of respect and loyalty to the Japanese Emperor. Tracing the activity of his party during the past few months, he boasted that "Social-Democracy had combatted Communism with all energy and struggled for the re-establishment of industrial 'peace.'"

This was the Socialists' achievement while Japanese armies were conquering Manchuria and burning Chapei!

The struggle against Communism referred to includes a struggle against the growing working class movement of revolt against the war, which is blazing up in Japan.

The Monarchist newspaper, *Japan*, has claimed without contradiction that "the Social Democratic Party has once and for all gone over to the side of those who defend our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia."

The general secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Japan (the Siakai Minsei-To) has said:

> The intervention in Manchuria is not of an imperialist nature, because even socialist Japan will have to fight for the necessary raw materials for its industry.

The journal of the Social-Democratic League of Women, *Minsui-Fudzin*, wrote on December 25, 1931:

> Our (Japanese) rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia, conquered at the cost of great sacrifice by the proletariat, must of course be given only to the proletariat.

The Japanese Labour Party has nothing to learn in the art of covering up its imperialism with socialist phrases!

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And the " Left " wing of the Social-Democrats, the Rono Tai Suto, sent its leader to Manchuria to " examine events." In Mukden this gentleman, Matsudani, said : " the events in Manchuria do not comprise an ordinary capitalist war but the solution of a national problem."

Internationally the " Left " Social-Democrats specialise on turning attention to the League of Nations and on other distractions from the issue of how to fight war.

The Independent Labour Party has made it difficult to rouse the working class to a realisation of the need for immediate struggle against war in several ways. One way is by simply ignoring the Manchurian invasion.

This invasion occurred in September, 1931. During October, when the Japanese armies were overrunning the three provinces, the *New Leader* gave this news one paragraph. An article in the issue of November 6 on the " War Danger on Armistice Day " did not mention the war begun in Manchuria.

Another paragraph in the same issue, however, did refer to this war—as " developments . . . which threaten the peace not only of Asia but of Europe."

That is a position the I.L.P. has kept up on the Manchurian question all along : it is not a war but " a threat to peace."

The next sentence in the same paragraph reads : " Japanese troops have invaded Chinese territory and have declined to withdraw at the request of the League of Nations."

This sentence includes, by implication, two lies : that it was the Japanese army (not the Japanese Government) which was responsible for the war in Manchuria ; and that the League of Nations' request for withdrawal was something more than an impudent pretence.

By a further paragraph, the *New Leader* helped to confuse the issue still more : " When we criticise Japanese aggression we are under no illusions about the character of the Chinese Government. It is a brutal dictatorship, which has executed its ' Left ' opponents by the thousand."

This implies that the war is primarily one between Japan and the Chinese Government—in fact a war between two oppressors. This is not even formally true : the Chinese and Japanese Governments are not at war.

The Chinese Government is a collection of very ordinary capitalist politicians, with some " war lords." The statesmen, like other capitalist commodities, are for sale or hire. The cheaper qualities among them can be bought retail or by private treaty. The more refined products can only be bought by a powerful section of the ruling class. In this

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they differ in no way from statesmen in other countries, including Britain ; methods of purchase are a little more open, that is all.

But the question of who is to rule China is not settled. Therefore the Nanking politicians have to obey (as well as the Chinese capitalists and landlords and war lords) the foreign powers that control China's biggest cities, own her railways, mines, and most of her factories—the imperialists, Britain, the U.S.A., even Japan.

Certainly the Nanking Government is a brutal dictatorship. But the Japanese are not fighting this dictatorship : they are fighting the Chinese people—an oppressed " colonial " people, exploited by every imperialist power strong enough to claim a share. The Nanking Government under a pretence of struggle is helping even the Japanese, ordering the Chinese troops to surrender at Shanghai, concentrating on the war against the Soviet provinces of China. This the I.L.P. obscures.

Later the I.L.P. began to show anxiety lest the League of Nations should " fail." Mr. Brailsford wrote on November 13 : " If the League cannot, with American assistance, protect a weak member from such treatment (invasion), it has no longer a title to our loyalty. . . . The League might call on its members to withdraw their diplomatic representatives from Tokyo. That would prove the solidarity of civilisation."

The League of Nations, which Mr. Brailsford here pictures as an organisation desiring to prevent aggression, but unable to do so, is a grouping of capitalist governments. It is made up, in particular, of the government of Mr. MacDonald, representing the bankers of the City, Messrs. Vickers, Baldwins Ltd., Imperial Chemical Industries, the shipowners whose profits in Chinese waters have ranged up to 100 per cent. annually, and the government of M. Tardieu (in November, 1931, M. Laval) which represents French finance-capital. (At times when French policy has clashed with British capitalism's interests, Mr. Brailsford has explained with unrivalled authority the control of the Comité des Forges over the predecessors of Tardieu and Laval.)

These two governments dominate the League. " The solidarity of civilisation " which Mr. Brailsford invokes, is the solidarity of these governments with those of Mussolini and Wall Street—the solidarity of capitalist imperialism.

Mr. Brailsford's picture of the League that may " fail " is a grotesque untruth, covering up the real support given to Japan by the British and French governments, and their real (though limited) clash with Japanese aims due to the desire of these great Powers and of America to prevent one of their fraternity getting an unfair advantage in the scramble for Chinese profits.

The I.L.P. Annual Conference did not find time to discuss even " the war danger," much less the actual war that has begun.

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" The best lie stands in the shadow of the truth," says a Spanish proverb. The I.L.P. know it.

In the *New Leader* for March 4 there is an article calling on the workers to stop the war. " There is one effective step we can take—stop any further munitions going to Japan. . . . In 1920 the London dockers refused to handle munitions. . . . It would be futile to call for such action if no response is forthcoming. But it is our duty to carry on such agitation that a response will be forthcoming."

The strength of these words is somewhat modified by the fact that in the ninety pages of *New Leader* that follow them on our files, they are not repeated. From March 4 to April 15 (the last issue available as this is written) the *New Leader* never mentions stopping munitions, never refers to the example of 1920, does nothing to carry on its " agitation."

Is it possible to come to any conclusion except that these words are a " blind," a cover for the I.L.P.'s real preoccupation : to hold the workers back and distract them from any action against Capitalism and War ?

When it is a question of securing working class action against a world war in its first stages, we find an uncertainty about action among the workers. Demonstrations, strikes, refusals to make or load munitions are needed ; they do not happen.

Why ? Partly because of our own failures in agitation and organisation. But more because of the strength of pacifist propaganda.

Workers think : " It doesn't affect me. I'm never going to join up again. Me for munitions in the next war."

Others think : " We can rely on the League of Nations. Everyone is against war now."

Others think : " They can't have a war ; nobody will join up."

When workers use these phrases they are not thinking along the lines of theory. But the theory behind all these reactions is the pacifist thesis : that war is a question of individual choice, not mass action, of " conscience," not of class struggle.

To support this thesis, Bertrand Russell writes in the April *New World*, the organ of the " No More War " Movement : " the preservation of peace must depend ultimately upon international agreements entered into by Governments. It is clear also that governments, broadly speaking and in the long run, reflect the sentiments of their peoples."

It is not necessary to be a Marxist in order to know that this is not true. It is one of the fundamentals of Socialism that capitalist governments represent the interests of capitalism, not the " sentiments of their peoples."

And the " No More War " Movement even goes so far in its efforts to get the workers' attention fixed on the League of Nations, as to praise

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the Treaty of Versailles! Mr. W. Ayles, an official of this Movement, writes in the February *New World*: "The Treaty of Versailles is a strange document. Wicked it undoubtedly is—in parts; but brimful of idealism in others."

We have ignored this movement too long. It is powerful; its influence over the workers is holding up the struggle against war.

If an open representative of the MacDonald government came to a trade union branch or a co-operative guild he would—in most cases—not get a hearing. But the speakers of the League of Nations Union and the "No More War" Movement are heard. And their message is one of trust and support in the war-makers' government—in its League guise. We must take the offensive against this pacifist propaganda wherever it has a grip on the minds of the workers.

THE POUND RISES

BRITANNIA: "Let's hope nothing will happen to him!"
—*Kladderadatsch* (nat.), Berlin.

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THE WAR AND THE PACIFISTS

By GORE GRAHAM

War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support or take part in any war, international or civil. (Membership declaration of the *No More War Movement*.)

AS the question of war is now on the order of the day it is necessary to achieve the fullest possible clarification of all the issues connected with the question; to get a correct estimate of all the forces making for another world holocaust together with those forces which stand in the way.

Particularly is it necessary for all revolutionary workers to get a full and correct estimate of the tremendous service which pacifism renders to the capitalists in their war preparations and in the carrying on of war itself. The Lucy-Cox correspondence in the *Daily Worker*, appearing, as it has done, at a time when the imperialists are waging war on China and in a multitude of other respects advancing towards a world war, brings this home with emphasis.

The whole of the immense propaganda machine of the capitalists, from such channels as that of the I.L.P. to that of the B.B.C. is daily employed in spreading the poison of pacifism. We have known and have told ourselves for a long time that the work of the League, the endless talk about disarmament, the Peace Conferences, etc., are veils to cover and assist actual war and war preparation; but still, in spite of that, some of us have failed quite fully to realise just how potent a factor it all is in the progress of capitalist activities.

To-day, however, when war has actually begun, we have only to raise the question with the average worker to find very often a good deal of incredulity as to the actuality of war, and the imminence of world catastrophe. And, further, to discover that this attitude is the result of nothing else than the pacifist propaganda that has been turned out in such quantities for so long as to lull many into the belief that war is really, in the face of all this pacifist noise, impossible. The trade-union and Labour Party leaders, the I.L.P. spokesmen and so on have, for example, turned out the familiar Liberal twaddle about the obsoleteness in these days of such things as War that many of their hearers have been hypnotised into believing it.

In so far as pacifism is prevalent in the working-class movement it represents the poisonous influence of the bourgeoisie no less than does the imperialist policy of the Trades Union Congress, or the Victorian

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Liberal-Labour policy of taxing the rich and helping the poor of the I.L.P. Just as the I.L.P. attempts to disarm the workers in their struggle for emancipation by tying it up within the confines of the capitalist democracy so, as pacifists, they attempt to stifle working class resistance to war by lassooing it with the deceptions of the League of Nations, etc., or by advocating a futile policy of individual abstention when war begins, and so on. The revolutionary working-class answer to all this is that the struggle against war means class struggle all the time against the capitalists. No doubt there are many workers who have not been convinced of the fact that the struggle against war involves revolutionary class struggle against our own capitalists but who, when war is on their doorstep, will be found to put up a by no means peaceful or "pacifist" opposition to it. This, however, is no excuse for not doing the utmost in exposing the falsity of pacifist deception; on the contrary, in view of the terrible danger of a policy of "When war begins . . .", it is all the more necessary so that such spontaneous, genuinely militant but unclear, opposition will the readier see the right line and support the right tactics. To rely on the abhorrent reaction to war when war is on top of us, is like leaving the building of dams till the flood is at its strength.

* * *

The term pacifist is applied to all those bourgeois illusions which propagate the pretence of being able to secure the abolition of war by the backstairs, i.e., without ending the dictatorship of the capitalist class. Therefore, we recognise it as being the most dangerous force in the way of fighting capitalist war, just as the loud-mouthed "socialism-by-the-back-stairs" people are to-day the most dangerous enemies of working-class emancipation in general. But it is the custom, however, to have particularly in mind when pacifism is thought of, not merely the purveyors of the League of Nations, Disarmament dope, but that intense emotional body of war resisters around the *No More War* movement. They are the more flamboyant, more intense, more ethical wing of the whole body pacifist. Like the Tories, like the Liberals, like the Labour Party, they support the imperialist League of Nations and so on. But in addition to that they conduct themselves with an intense religious air. They are very personal, emotional about it all and have raised to organisational expression the conscientious objection to military service that existed during the World War.

Their point of view is expressed as well it can be in the words of the first manifesto of the No Conscription Fellowship of September, 1915, which said:

> All of us, however, believe in the value and sacredness of human personality . . . Believing it is the imperative duty of every citizen we

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> are eager to render national service through such occupations as shall help to build up the life of our country . . . We gladly admit the right of the community to impose duties upon its members for the common good, but we deny the right of any Government to make slaughter a bounden duty.

(This, by the way, was written by people like Brockway who actually thought, and still think, that they were socialists.)

This is the point, as expressed then, still just as valid to-day, hundredfold endorsement of which can be found in all the current literature of the movement.

" The value and sacredness of human personality." It has got a familiar ring. Whose personality does it really concern? Merely the personality of the particular individual. It is because they haven't got at the A.B.C. of socialism they do not see the masses as wage slaves and as cannon fodder to the capitalist class.[1] " Believing it is the imperative duty of every citizen we are eager to render national service," said the first manifesto of the No Conscription Fellowship. There is no conception of a class society in that. There is only a State, a " community " to which they regard it as their imperative duty to render service. To render all service except that of individually joining in the slaughter of war. It is absolutely a personal matter. They openly affirm allegiance to everything except this question of war service. But absolutely individually, a matter of personal conscience, because as even Keir Hardie said : " I have never said or written anything to dissuade our young men from enlisting ; I know too well all that there is at stake." (November 27, 1914.)

Or take the words of another pacifist leader, Edward Carpenter, who wrote in the *Labour Leader* of January 14, 1915 :

> Like a great cry these words to-day rise from the lips of the nations " Never Again." Probably wars will still for many a century continue, though less frequent we hope. And if people themselves *want* to fight and must fight who is to say them nay? In such things we need not be overmuch troubled. There are many things worse than fighting.

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[1] It is interesting, by the way, to read an answer which Fenner Brockway made in the *Labour Leader* (25-3-15) to Canon Lyttleton, then Headmaster of Eton, a letter from whom the *Leader* had published in which the latter wrote :

> " The hideous war in France and Poland and elsewhere will soon come to an end, and though it means a frightful devastation of human life, it has its nobler aspects ; but the war between classes in England is likely to endure for a much longer time and to be more fatal in its results and, insofar as it is war-like, it has no nobler aspects whatever."

To which Brockway replied :

> " Canon Lyttleton has fallen into an error in which many anti-socialists fall. We do not exalt in the war between classes, any more than in the war between nations. We hate the one as much as we hate the other."

Fundamentally, Brockway has not changed. His words, his tactics, reflecting the glow of capitalism's sunset may be to-day a little redder ; but he is in the same camp.

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The personal character of it all is obvious. It is not a question of the working class saying a determined "No" to the capitalist class; the validity of the social system, "the right of the community to impose duties" is accepted; it is a personal issue of individual refusal to undertake military service. Did not Snowden, one of the leaders of pacifism say at the time (March 18th, 1915):

> I am not going to ask anyone to do something I would not do myself . . . if a man thinks it wrong to go, he ought not to go and he should not be persecuted. If a man thinks he ought to go then he should go, and I honour that man.

How mean and petty is the reality that lies beneath such bold words as "the value and sacredness of human personality." For this pacifist attitude stripped of its decorations is a contemptible preoccupation with personal salvation. That millions of men are meeting their death at the hands of capitalism and populations are suffering famine and disease, all this is as nothing compared with the urgency of keeping pure and inviolate the conscience, of maintaining "the value and sacredness of the human personality" of the individual resister. "All honour to the man who enlists"—as they repeated endlessly—"far be it from us to stop him. But for ourselves, we will not fight." This spiritual gluttony of pacifism that seeks personal salvation at the expense of the masses who are embroiled in capitalist war is disgusting. Let the world be one bloodsoaked battlefield—*I* will not fight. "If a man thinks he ought to go . . . (Snowden) if people themselves want to fight and must fight who is to say them nay . . . (Carpenter) I have never said or written anything to dissuade our young men . . . ." (Hardie), etc., etc., etc. —but *we* will not fight." What a philosophy! What an attitude! Against such persons to-day, or at least against leaders of the working class who advance such a standpoint in relation to the question of war the accusing fingers of the millions of war's victims may be pointed with justification. For they must share responsibility with the capitalist war-mongers themselves. To say pathetically "*We* did not do it"[2] is futile. For the test which suffering victims of capitalism apply is "What did *you* do to *stop* it?"

What indeed did the pacifist movement do to stop the last war? From quotations already given it is seen that the leaders of the movement itself were far removed from any conception of the need for a class fight against the government of warmongers. When the *Labour Leader* offices were visited by Scotland Yard in 1915 and Brockway appeared in Court,

[2] "Some British socialists are unfortunately ranging themselves on the side of militarism and we shall take the strongest possible action to make it clear to our comrades on the continent that the hands of the I.L.P. are clean and that when the conflict is over and we have once again to meet our German, French, Belgian and Russian comrades no part of the responsibility for the crime that has been done in Europe *can be laid at our* door." (Keir Hardie, *Labour Leader*, August 27, 1914.)

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the English gentlemen had the sanctity of their personalities so outraged that they could do nothing better than complain of the government's "Prussianism." When the magistrate dismissed the case against Brockway, he (Brockway) as Editor of the *Labour Leader*, filled the columns of the paper for two or three weeks afterwards with sympathetic comments from numerous capitalist journals and newspapers who had come to the defence of the *Labour Leader*. The pacifist movement did not impede the progress of the war one iota. On the contrary it assisted the propagation of the war by taking the centre of the "anti-war" stage, to the exclusion of any serious policy of class opposition. The Pacifist movement, despite the tensity and apparent seriousness of it all in the setting of the time, acted actually as a kind of loyal opposition.

The measure of it all can be taken by the fact that Snowden should feel it necessary to declare in a famous speech that he would not go on a recruiting platform, at which there were loud cheers from the packed audience. Or by such statements of MacDonald as this of January 7, 1915:

> The immediate urgency of our I.L.P. work is that it is preparing for peace by declining to throw mere mud at the enemy. The brutality and savagery of war belongs to war and is not the crime of a nation . . . militarism has first brow-beaten and then disgraced Germany (mark it!); It would do exactly the same to Britain if it had the chance.

At the I.L.P. Conference in 1915 MacDonald said that "the I.L.P. is doing more to smash German militarism than any other force in the country."

No: the Government was far too intelligent to see any real danger in stuff like that. It shot James Connolly; but it permitted the wordy polemics of the pacifists. H. G. Wells joined in from the militarist side to remark nastily that "this opposition to the war was a sort of political lock-up investment against possible discontents after the war."

Even by the less opportunist of the socialist-pacifist leaders the war was fully accepted and, though they were not on the recruiting platforms like the Tillets, Clynes, Hendersons, etc., nor yet talking about German militarism like MacDonald, they were still far removed from a working-class policy of struggle against the capitalists and their war. There was a general feeling of paralysis.

The I.L.P. *Labour Leader* of the war years was a mixture of sadness and futility with vague opportunist talk about a "socialism" as far removed from actuality as peace in Heaven. Poems were printed exclaiming (January 25, 1917):

> O God, art thou asleep?
> In pity Lord look down,
> Send love again on earth,

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and letters like the one appearing in the same issue saying " the war has not been the cause of our heartbreak, it has only been the means of revealing the sickening corruption that lay near the heart of our organisation." Leaders like Anderson, the I.L.P. member of Parliament, could only " hope that the European conflict would result in lasting peace and that nations would learn a better way of settling their quarrels." Or like the heavy-hearted Hardie write :

> When the war is only a sinking memory of a blood-stained nightmare, and we are again face to face with the real things of life, then surely there will be a great and mighty agitation for complete enfranchisement of Democracy. (March 25, 1915.)

In view of that awful experience of 1914-18 those who support in any measure whatever the pacifist illusions, who in reality ask for a repetition (though it would be no mere repetition) of those four years, must be combatted, combatted ruthlessly. The policy of the Ponsonbys and Brockways is the same. But it is the duty of the revolutionary movement to let the capitalists see that the workers have learned a good deal.

Let us consider briefly, for example, Ponsonby the chairman of the War Resisters' International. He is the author of a book, entitled " Now Is The Time," a sort of classic of pacifism. In it every paragraph reveals the most muddled ignorance of social reality whose toll, in terms of working class misery, were it to be the only lead the workers have, is terrible to contemplate. Ponsonby is completely ignorant of the real causes of war, or of the forces at work in social evolution either of the past or of the present. He declares that war is caused by something which he calls Authority, spelling it with a capital A, and which he says regards war as an indispensable old custom. " The whole business is founded on tradition and humbug." His practical proposals are that " while the sky is still clear (1925) we must help create a popular abhorrence of war as an institution " (page 26) ; we must support " anything which will strengthen and popularise the League, etc." (page 162) ; " Governments must be watched and encouraged towards the right road " (page 163) ; " we must reach the moral conscience of the nation itself " (page 164). But, he adds : " Personally I would neither vote for nor advocate the abolition of the standing army and the scrapping of the navy. Public opinion is not yet ready for such a step " (page 173).

All this stuff, which is the sum and substance of the book, becomes infinitely more nauseating when put alongside Ponsonby's statement in the current (April) issue of *The New World*, the official organ of the movement. An " Ex-officer " writes to the paper wanting to know the pacifist position in regard to the present war in China. Would the pacifist deprive China of her measures of self-defence ? And this is what the pacifist Ponsonby, chairman of the Movement, replies :

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> Many claim that Japan has been guilty of an act of unprovoked aggression. But the Japanese have been taught to regard the Chinese as aggressors, and it is even doubtful whether complete unanimity would be attained among the Powers (!) represented in the League of Nations were that question without qualification put to them.
>
> But had China been unarmed, had no Chinese been able to fight a single shot, Japan, had she attacked China, would have been a self-confessed aggressor before all the world, including her own people.
>
> Knowing therefore that she could not bamboozle her own people (!) by any possible pretence, that an armed attack on a completely unarmed people was not an aggression, she would never have attempted to take such action.

Remarkable as it is, this is but one of many similar examples which can be found showing the actual counter-revolutionary imperialist rôle of this pacifist propaganda. Such sentiments on the War on China make those of the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* seem revolutionary by comparison. Japan is not exactly an imperialist aggressor because after all " the Japanese have been taught to regard the Chinese as aggressors." Ponsonby's chief complaint, nay, the only one, is that the Chinese put up a resistance to the murderous Japanese invaders. Brigadier-General Fleming, the Japanese General Staff, etc., will thank him and agree with him. And during the war weren't the British, for example, " taught to regard the Germans as aggressors " ? Aren't " they " taught to-day to regard the rising colonial peoples, the Soviet Union (not to mention the miners in 1926) as aggressors ?

In the event of armed intervention in Soviet Russia, Ponsonby will not fix on an aggressor, will refer again to " public opinion," because after all " the British are taught to regard the Russians as aggressors " ; and his complaint, the thing about which he will be definite, will be that the Russians are not unarmed. Yet, let us remember, as regards his own capitalist armed forces, he says, as quoted, " he would neither vote for nor advocate the abolition of the standing army nor the scrapping of the navy. Public opinion is not ready for such a step." As for the *advantages* of facing the heavily-armed forces of imperialism with the pacifist weapon of defencelessness, has it ever been observed that the imperialist robbers hold their bloody hands out of shame or tenderness of heart at the sight of a practically defenceless opponent ? At this very moment British machine gunners are waging war against Burmese armed with sticks and the charmed handkerchiefs of the medicine men ; the latest bombers of the Air Force are blowing to smithereens the defenceless villages of the North-West Frontier Province. They're disarmed for you, Lord Ponsonby.

Really, a man who is the publicist of such propaganda is as reprehensible and as contemptible a creature as any whiskey-sodden officer who gloats over colonial " victories."

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There is a danger in being so impressed by the fatuity, the palpable hypocrisy of this pacifist propaganda as not to appreciate fully the valuable function it performs in the service of imperialism. All this talk about being opposed to all war, all fighting (although it boils down to a particular concern about such fighting as the gallant struggle of the 19th Cantonese Army)—this being opposed to war in general is no different from the talk about being in favour of peace in general. As Lenin said in one of his articles during the War, *everybody* is in favour of peace in general, including Kitchener, Joffre, Hindenberg and Nicholas the Bloody. For *everyone* of them wishes to end the war. Attached to the struggle against war in general which unites the pacifists with *everyone* they are also actively opposed to civil war, to the struggle of the workers, of the Colonial peoples against imperialism. And this is really the guts of their activity; *disarming the oppressed on behalf of the oppressors*. The latest pamphlet of the movement ("What Fighting Means," by C. E. M. Joad) begins with an attack on communism, on the line of class struggle against war; and it *ends* with an attack on the revolutionary way out. It makes the usual attempt to "create a popular abhorrence" (Ponsonby) of war; but when it gets down to brass tacks it merely advocates the complete capitulation of the masses to the will of capitalism.

In one issue of *The New World* in 1930, George Lansbury wrote a front page article ending with the beautiful words:

> I join with you in a shout of praise and thanksgiving that we have lived to see the day when, in effect, all the churches, established and unestablished, official and unofficial, with one voice declare for the *sacredness* of human life, and pledge themselves anew to struggle and to pray for the coming of the day when War and Violence shall cease throughout the world and the nations of the earth shall slumber wrapt in universal love.

A month or so later, at the annual conference of the movement, a delegate proposed the expulsion of people like Lansbury who as members of the capitalist government were busily engaged in massacring Indian strikers, destroying the Burmese and bombing the Afridis. The motion was defeated (though it got a majority the following year) and one of the executive members (W. J. Chamberlin) in a feature article in the following issue of the paper declared this attitude to be ridiculous. Lansbury, he said, could easily turn upon the mover of the motion and ask him why he pays his taxes, direct or indirect, when, after all, some part of it is taken for paying the armament bill! And, he added:

> Our movement is based on the fundamental right and duty of every one to act according to the dictates of conscience. I fear that a few of the delegates did not realise that the *No More War Movement* cannot deny the right of the state to override one's conscience if the movement is to set itself up as a judge and keeper of its members' consciences. (*The New World*, December, 1930.)

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That is the calibre of the movement. More, much more could be written. But from what has been said above it is felt that the reader will have taken proper measure of this dangerous pacifist wing of the imperialist front. Only by constantly exposing it, only by proceeding along the line of unending class-against-class offensive in every sphere, will the forces that make for the abolition of capitalist war be strengthened, and be the better able to break the power of capitalism, thus ending that which sends us to bloody destruction as well as condemns us to the increasing misery of wage slavery in the period of capitalist decline.

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THE WAR AND THE UNEMPLOYED

By WAL HANNINGTON

Balancing the Budget for War

THE attacks upon the standards of the unemployed, by the Benefit Cuts, Anomalies Acts and Means Test has its relationship to the whole question of war preparations.

The war estimates for 1932 involve an expenditure of £104,364,000 on the Army, Navy and Air Force alone. To meet such an enormous expenditure and to balance the budget of the Government, the capitalist class, on the plea of economy and the need for making the Unemployment Insurance Fund solvent, smash down the standards of the unemployed workers. By so doing they not only hope to turn the unemployed into an army of cheap labour for forcing still lower the standards of the workers in industry, but they aim at driving the most physically fit amongst them into the armed forces for war.

In 1927 the Army Council Report declared that there had been a decline in the rate of recruitment to the British Army and it attributed this to the " high " scales of benefit paid to young men at the Labour Exchanges. The Blanesborough Commission which was sitting at the time, took this cue with the result that their recommendations for cuts in unemployed benefit were heaviest in respect to the young unemployed workers of most suitable military age, with the result that benefit scales were reduced by the following amounts :

20-21 years ..	4/-	19-20 years ...	6/-
18-19 years ..	8/-		

Anti-War Work Among the Unemployed

The 1932 Army Council Report, recently issued, expresses satisfaction with the rate of recruitment in recent months and refers to the " helpful assistance " in this respect given by the Local Government Authorities ; in other words, they can speak with satisfaction in regard to recruitment because of the starvation policy expressed through the Means Test which is driving the unemployed workers into becoming mercenaries and cannon fodder for British Capitalism. Without a doubt the best recruiting sergeant for the " voluntary " armed forces of capitalism is Hunger.

The need for the development of revolutionary propaganda and class conscious organisation amongst the unemployed becomes more and

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more urgent as the imminence of war looms up before us. Not only is there a constant stream of recruits pouring into the Army from the ranks of the unemployed to escape from their conditions of uncertainty and want, but it will be to the millions of unemployed that the capitalist class will look for the first rush of recruits when they again enter into war on a big scale. Therefore, every class conscious worker should have no difficulty in fully realising that agitation and organisation amongst the unemployed becomes a task of the utmost importance in this period. The National Unemployed Workers' Movement must develop and become still more deeply rooted amongst the widest possible masses of the unemployed. Upon the National Unemployed Workers' Movement devolves the task of not only leading the fight of the unemployed on the simple issues which confront them, but arousing them to a much more complete understanding of the cause of unemployment and war. In this way those who are driven into the armed forces will enter with their eyes open, knowing how to say " Invergordon " and knowing how to do other things besides obeying orders. When the soldier or sailor has a class understanding of why he is in uniform, the victory of the working class against the system which creates unemployment and war will be very near.

Employed Workers' Responsibilities

Agitation and organisation amongst the unemployed is still treated with only casual concern by many workers who claim to be militants or revolutionaries. Even where the importance of developing the N.U.W.M. is recognised by the employed workers, it is too often regarded as the job for the unemployed to do alone. From such an attitude arises the danger of separating the struggles of the unemployed and employed.

Anti-war work should begin, not when the worker has donned the uniform of capitalism but before he puts it on, and this means more positive work amongst that section of our class from which capitalism chiefly relies for recruitment of its armed forces, namely, the unemployed.

The employed workers must show a greater response in the future than in the past for work amongst the unemployed. They must come on to the Unemployed Committees and help the N.U.W.M. to broaden and extend its influence. This must be done not only to combat more effectively the attacks upon unemployed and employed standards, but to frustrate the war machinations of capitalism which to-day envelops us.

Under the Means Test, not only is the unemployed ex-service man robbed of his service pension and disability pension, but the employed Ex-Service man's pension is assessed for the maintenance of an unemployed relative, whilst the Government continues to levy tribute from the sweat and toil of the working class to pay £312 million annually to the wealthy bondholders of the national debt who lent money for past wars.

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The robbery of the Ex-Serviceman under the Means Test must be made not only a principal issue in our fight against the Means Test, but its lesson must be driven home with vigour in the fight against the war danger.

In the campaign for the election of delegates for the National Conference of Action Against the Means Test, called by the N.U.W.M. for May 28th and 29th in the Shoreditch Town Hall, London, we must not only make special efforts to secure delegates from Trade Union Branches, Factories, Pits and Depots, Co-operative Guilds, I.L.P. Branches and Sports Clubs, but we must give special attention to the task of getting delegates from Ex-Servicemen's organisations.

The united front of the working class must be speedily built up against the double-headed monster of Unemployment and War and with this object in view, we must devote our utmost energy to making May 1st and May 28-29th landmarks in the forward march of the working class against the system which creates unemployment and war.

The whole working class must be roused to action against the system of capitalism which is plunging mankind to destruction.

At a time when our powers to produce surpass anything which our forefathers could have dreamt possible, when by the aid of science and machinery in industry we are capable of producing in super-abundance, when through our creative efforts the wealth and luxury of the ruling class transcends our comprehension, we see at the same time only starvation and devastation in the homes of the millions of our class. In return for our toil we receive hunger and war.

A system which creates such a catastrophe must go. The working class must take power into its own hands, emulating the glorious deeds and achievements of our comrades of the U.S.S.R. Power to create and build! Power to organise our lives for happiness and security! Power to forge the bonds of International working class solidarity! Power to banish unemployment and war from our midst! Power to build the World Federation of Socialist Soviet Republics for Peace, Security and Progress!

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THE TOLERANT REVOLUTIONARIES

By H. LEE

THE increasing difficulties of British capitalism, and its deepening crisis, confronts the working class with new problems, the solving of which require the overhauling and careful study of the whole theory and practical experience of the Labour movement. The record of the Labour Government did much to shake profoundly the edifice of reformist teachings.

The ferment in the outlook of working class supporters of the Labour Party is sharply reflected in the I.L.P.—the section of the Labour Party that utilises the phrases of socialism, that tries to affix a " revolutionary " ultimate to reformist policy. The recent discussions in the I.L.P. have ranged largely around the question of " disaffiliation," while the Blackpool Conference has now decided against disaffiliation. A group of those who are in favour of disaffiliation are also in favour of the I.L.P. adopting a " revolutionary " policy and their attitude is expressed in the " Memorandum on the Present Political and Economic Situation and the I.L.P.," issued by the Poplar Branch of the I.L.P. (foreword by C. K. Cullen).

It is necessary to examine the principal points in this thesis, since workers who really want a revolutionary policy and *practice* must be helped to realise political clarification.

The Memorandum declares that we are facing the approaching collapse of capitalism and compares the situation of capitalist anarchy with the success of the Soviet Union. The Labour Government's record of patching up capitalism is mentioned and the writers think that now there will be strikes and lock-outs, and a " possible general industrial upheaval making a crash from internal causes likely in the next year or two." They see the prospect of civil war. Little hope of socialism is placed in a general election, but " to build a socialist state we must sweep away the whole machinery of capitalism." The logic of the industrial struggles which the thesis envisages is a general strike, and " industrial upheaval or war must be made the opportunity for smashing capitalism. Dictatorship will be necessary until the stabilisation of the power of the workers."

These ideas are contrary to the beliefs of the Labour Party and the T.U.C.; therefore " it is surely obvious that continued alliance with the Labour Party is impossible, not on superficial grounds of liberty of action in Parliament, but on grounds of fundamental policy." With

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whom then can a united front be made? With those others who see the decline of capitalism, and developing class struggle and believe in dictatorship—the Communists. But difficulties are in the way:

> They are largely due to the past policy and outlook of the I.L.P., which the Communists regard as reformist in nature, and the support we have continued to give to the Labour Party on general questions while criticising details. Our policy and outlook are changing in a revolutionary direction as a result of economic events, and there is a growing demand for disaffiliation among the active membership. The future attitude of the C.P. to us will depend partly on the extent to which we become a revolutionary party and implement our new outlook in definite activities, and partly on our own attitude to them. Our antipathy to the C.P. has been partly due to their insistence on the futility of parliamentary methods (even as a means of securing more power and leverage for the workers), partly to their methods of propaganda and tactics, and partly to their continued assertions that our *intentions* were to assist in the patching up of capitalism (whether or not they really believed it, and whether or not they considered that our policies would have that *effect*). These barriers will take some time to break down, but the pressure of economic events and agreement as to our ultimate objective ought to assist in the process.

The view of these comrades is that they will form a "revolutionary Party" and that therefore C.P. criticism will be modified, and better united work will follow. The opposition to the C.P. has been due, they say, to C.P. "methods"—a very familiar form of opposition from Labour leaders who wish to keep the ear of the militant masses.

We must reiterate again and again that policy and method are linked up, that there can be no chasm between programme and organisation in a revolutionary Party. A revolutionary party must oppose all anti-working class teachings, though the "intentions" of some of the propagandists might be unquestionable. (Lenin, in *Left-Wing Communism*, on the leaders of the German Independent Social-Democratic Party, Kautsky and Co., "These men are absolutely incapable of thinking and reasoning like revolutionaries. They are sentimental middle-class democrats, who are a thousand times more dangerous to the proletariat when they proclaim themselves to be adherents of the Soviet system and of proletarian dictatorship; for, as a matter of course, they will, upon every critical and difficult occasion, commit acts of treason—'sincerely' confident all the time that they are assisting the proletariat!")

The Memorandum then says:

> It may be argued that if the above ideas are accepted there is no place left for the I.L.P. and that those who accept them should join the Communist Party. It may be that ultimately there will be a fusion between the revolutionary wing of the I.L.P. and the C.P. The objective is far more important than any sectional interests. Meanwhile, there are certain definite reasons why we are unable to join the C.P. and why we should continue to work inside the I.L.P. (though the decisions taken

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> at Easter may affect our attitude). We disagree strongly with the tactics and what we think is the unsound psychology of the C.P. We believe that far more support can be won for revolutionary policy by a different sort of approach to the workers. We believe that there should be far more tolerance for the outlook of those whose political education is still largely undeveloped while the economic fallacies of their views are pointed out to them. We believe that the Communist Party tends to suffer from the " infantile disorder of Communism "[1] which Lenin found an embarrassment in his guidance of the movement in Russia. On the other hand, we believe that a revolutionary I.L.P. would approach the whole question of propaganda and organisation in a different manner and would appeal to potential revolutionaries among the workers whom the C.P. at present " leaves cold." We believe, too, that a large number of potential revolutionaries within the ranks of the I.L.P. would certainly not join the C.P. at present. A revolutionary I.L.P. has a slightly different rôle to play in many directions from that pursued by the C.P. Our difference from the C.P. would lie more in method than in actual plans and policy.

The use of terms in the above paragraph is interesting. This very left-wing of the I.L.P. still disagree with the *tactics of the C.P.*, ask for a " different sort of approach," " approach of a different manner." What is this " difference " ? It is not stated.

This insistence on a revolutionary policy with a method and tactic different from the tactic of the existing revolutionary Party, the Communist Party, expresses the lingering faith and hope that there might be some way out of the crisis for the working class other than the Communist revolutionary path. There cannot be ; a revolutionary policy in practice means revolutionary methods of work, even though such methods may offend some " sincere " gentlemen. The methods of the " revolutionary " I.L.P.'ers are outlined in a programme for " the stage of preparation " ; they include the following :

> (*c*) *Organisation.*—Emphasis on the industrial struggle compels attention for the best methods of industrial organisation. The methods of the Minority Movement must be studied and I.L.P. co-operation offered where we can agree on the efficiency of their tactics. New methods of approach to, and propaganda amongst, industrial and distributive workers must be devised.

Again new methods ; but no indication is given as to what these new methods are to be—rather it would seem that the Communist-Minority Movement methods have no alternative. The Memorandum concludes by declaring for the Soviet system—in the period of building Socialism.

What does the Memorandum mean ? It means that there are members and groups of members in the I.L.P. who want to make a fairly decisive break with reformism and who favour the policy that stands for struggle against capitalism, for proletarian dictatorship and for Soviets.

[1] Lenin wrote "*Left Wing*" *Communism* an Infantile Disorder . . . . not Communism as an infantile disorder.

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They recognise that there is a Party that supports these things—the Communist Party, but allegedly they object to its methods. No alternative methods are proposed, and the Memorandum omits to mention the constant self-criticism of the C.P. which results in the improvement of organisation and method.

The objective result of this Memorandum can be only to keep honest workers in the I.L.P. in the hope that it will adopt a revolutionary policy as the I.L.P. keeps honest workers in the Labour Party in the hope that it will adopt a socialist policy.

The Easter Conference of the I.L.P. had raised many hopes amongst certain I.L.P.'ers, but the character of the discussions have shown that the I.L.P. remains an opportunist Party—a mask for the Labour traitors. Those members who want a revolutionary policy should join the Communist Party ; a lively participation in the revolutionary struggles will remove all the misconceptions *re* " unsuitable methods," and the collective work will help to strengthen the fight for those aims which the Memorandum attempts to propound.

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"LEFT" IMPERIALISM AND THE NEGRO TOILERS[1]

By GEORGE PADMORE

SOME days ago my attention was drawn to a review of my book, *Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers*, by J. F. Horrabin, in the March issue of the Plebs.

It is quite true that Mr. Horrabin is unknown among the vast majority of Negro[2] workers in America and the colonies, but, nevertheless, he deserves to be answered, because *Plebs* is read by many honest, class-conscious British workers, who might not be sufficiently acquainted with the conditions of the Negro masses under imperialism to recognise the falsity of the statements of this apologist of British imperialism.

After paying the author the compliment that the book is " a first-rate piece of work," Mr. Horrabin reveals his true reformist character by stating that it is " only marred by an over-emphasis obviously dictated by the author's political beliefs." We would like to assure this worthy lackey of the British ruling class, that the political beliefs of the author, which he seems so much to abhor, are the beliefs of thousands of black proletarians throughout the world, who are more and more accepting these " abhorred beliefs " as the only path to national freedom and social emancipation.

We are glad to note that this Labour fakir admits that the record of his Party—the Labour Government—is written with the blood, not only of the British working class, but of millions of colonial toilers in India, Africa, and other countries.

But what seems to peeve this philistine is my remark that: " The policy of British imperialism, whether administered by Conservatives, Liberals, or Labour, has been fundamentally the same in East Africa." Nobody who knows the facts can deny this. It is in this very respect that an open Tory imperialist like Sir Charles Eliot is more honest than Mr. Horrabin, when he said that, regardless of what the Colonial Office might say, the actual fact is, white interests must be *paramount* in Kenya. It is characteristic of the British Labour fakirs, from the " left " Maxton to the " right " Henderson, to cover up their treachery to the oppressed colonial peoples by quibbling over such catch words as " *paramountcy*,"

[1] Reprinted from the *Weekly Worker*.

[2] Incidentally, since Mr. Horrabin assumes to speak with authority on the so-called Negro problem, we would greatly appreciate if in his future writings he would spell the word Negro with a capital "N." For reasons, see "*Negro Year-Book*," Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, 1931, pages 21-26.

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" trusteeship," " dominion status," &c., &c. And here we see Mr. Horrabin, following the reformist tradition, making a great fuss over the word " paramountcy."

The Paramountcy Humbug

But let it not be forgotten that this very word, " paramountcy," did *not* even originate with the Labour Party, but was the trump card which the Tories in 1923 used during the controversy between the European planters and the Indian traders in Kenya. At that time the latter were demanding the removal of certain political and economic restrictions imposed upon them by the white slave holders and their Government.

The Duke of Devonshire, the then Secretary of State—who, by the way, was *not* a Labour Minister—in a Memorandum on the Indian-European controversy enunciated the doctrine of " paramountcy " in the following words :

" Primarily, Kenya is an African territory and His Majesty's Government think it necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail. . . ."

This was how the word " paramountcy " came into being. But the European colonists, like the then imperial Government, knew full well that the application of this policy—giving " paramountcy " to the Africans in political, economic, and social matters—was just so much humbug. It was just a scheme whereby the demands of the Indians were defeated. In other words : Since two alien groups were quarrelling for political and economic domination in East Africa, the " dictators " at Whitehall found it convenient to use the Africans as their scapegoats by coining the political term—" paramountcy."

Same Policy—Different Labels

Notwithstanding all the pledges of the Labour Party to the Negroes, especially in East Africa, embodied in their declaration : " Labour and the Colonies," all that these fakirs did when they got into power was to reiterate this worthless phrase, and to publish a White Paper on the Native Question, stating that the " interests " of the natives must be " paramount."

Governments have come and Governments have gone—whether they call themselves Conservative, Liberal, or Labour—and one thing we blacks all know, despite all this quibbling over the word " paramountcy "—*we don't own one more foot of our land, or enjoy any greater political or social advantages than before the coming into being of this mysterious word " paramountcy."*

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Again, this philistine goes on to charge us with distorting the facts. Heaven knows that the points in our indictment against the Labour Party need no exaggeration! Why then should Mr. Horrabin become so indignant when we say that the conditions in Tanganyika are as bad as in Kenya? Since we believe that Mr. Horrabin's skin lacks black pigmentation, this might be something which enables him to recognise a difference between these two colonies; but Negroes certainly cannot.

Now, what are the facts? To quote all the available authorities on this question would make a book in itself. Let us content ourselves with a few quotations from a most respectable bourgeois authority, namely, Raymond Leslie Buell, formerly Assistant Professor of Government at Harvard University, and a recognised authority on Africa (by the way, Dr. Buell does not suffer from the author's political beliefs, and therefore his statements should be more acceptable to a "liberal" like Mr. Horrabin):

Tanganyika Land Laws

In his book, *The Native Problem in Africa* (New York, 1928), Vol. I., page 489, Buell writes:

"*When a European wishes to acquire land in Tanganyika, the Governor instructs the administrative official in the district concerned to report as to the effect such an alienation would have upon native interests and rights. The sole responsibility is vested by the law in the Governor, and if his administrative official is ignorant of native law, the Governor may alienate native land*, and the native occupier has no redress. (Emphasis mine: G.P.). *The law, moreover, merely says that the Governor shall have 'regard for native customs.' From the standpoint of the natives, the Tanganyika land law, therefore, contains fewer precise guarantees than* did the German land law which provided for the establishment of reserves four times as large as the land under cultivation. . . ."

"*Under the existing land law, he* (*i.e.*, the Governor: G.P.) *has complete power; the rights of the native are subject to no judicial guarantee.*

"*The Tanganyika Land Ordinance, as it stands at present, accepts the principle of protecting native rights in the land, as prescribed in the Mandate, but it does not establish a procedure which will ensure that the principle will be applied.*" (Page 490.)

The importance of the above quotations will be better understood if we add here another quotation from Buell, page 489: ". . . the demand for such leases (of land to Europeans: G.P.) on account of difference of climate is much greater in Tanganyika than in Nigeria, and the Governor of Tanganyika will be, therefore, subject to pressure for the alienation of land which does not exist in Nigeria." So much for the question of land.

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Farce of Labour "Protection"

It is also very instructive to read about the conditions under which the native, driven away from his own land, has to work for the white plantation owner hundreds of miles away from his tribal home. Buell says: "Until the Government issues regulations defining what provision employers must make in regard to housing, clothing, food and medical care, one cannot say that Tanganyika labour is receiving the protection given labour elsewhere in Africa. In the absence of such regulations and of a corps of labour inspectors, Tanganyika labour receives virtually no protection at all. The 1926-27 Estimates provide, however, for five labour officers." (Page 498.) The efforts of these officers, just as those of the Medical Department, have, as Buell says of this latter one, "of course no legal weight." (Page 498.)

On Page 499 we read: "While the British vest similar powers (*i.e.*, corporal punishment in the case of labour offences: G.P.) in the hands of the administrators, they are usually miles away from the place of employment and employers are constantly tempted to take the law into their own hands. The Tanganyika Labour Commissioner says: "so great is this difficulty of dealing with minor offences, that the practice of illegal punishment is undoubtedly widespread. This punishment usually takes the form of a thrashing or a fine. . . . Under the guise of punishing the violation of sanitary regulations, the employer may impose fines for anything which meets his displeasure—and the native has small redress."

"Desertion" Checks

Since Mr. Horrabin is so convinced that "there is some difference between conditions in Tanganyika and in Kenya," we would like to offer to our readers some material illustrating this "difference."

"Under the Tanganyika Masters and Servants Ordinance, desertion is a *criminal offence* cognizable to the police. *The ordinance is therefore more severe than the Masters and Servants Ordinance in Kenya,*" says Buell on page 500. The author then goes on as follows: "A native deserter is liable to a fine not exceeding one hundred shillings or to imprisonment for six months or both. . . . Neither paying a fine nor serving a term of imprisonment shall have the effect of cancelling a deserter's contract of service. This means that after serving his sentence, a native can be compelled to return to his employer, also a provision of great severity, which is not found, for example, in the labour legislation of Sierra Leone.

"Still more astonishing is section 31 of the Tanganyika ordinance, which provides that the court may order any male person, if he appears to be under the age of sixteen, ' and to require punishment in the way of

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discipline,' and is liable to punishment under the ordinance, ' to be detained for one day in any suitable place of detention, *and to be corporally punished*,' in accordance with the *Whipping Regulations*. Thus a native boy who is guilty of ' neglect of duty ' or of ' desertion ' *may be whipped to the extent of twelve strokes*." (Page 500.)

The Mandate in Practice

Buell comments on these regulations as follows : " While the terms of the mandate (of Great Britain over Tanganyika : G.P.) do not explicitly prohibit ' involuntary servitude,' they do prohibit ' all forms of forced and compulsory labour.' . . . In view of the broad scope of the mandate and of the very great danger that natives do not understand the terms of the contract which they sign, or are indirectly obliged to sign such a contract against their will, it seems that this interpretation is too restrictive, and that ' involuntary ' servitude is a form of forced labour, which is prohibited by the mandate. If this interpretation is correct, labour laws which make desertion a criminal offence do not conform to the obligations of the mandate. . . ." (Page 501.)

Indeed, how are these natives, who are so cruelly punished for " desertion," being recruited for work on the plantations ? Are they really signing the contract " voluntarily " ?

Buell describes the situation as follows : " Recruiting methods for the plantations in Tanganyika *are similar to those in Kenya*." (Page 502.) To get an idea of what that means for the native, we can imagine, if we hear what the Governor, in a circular on Agriculture and Labour, of August 5, 1926, stated : " In localities in which the native cannot grow economic crops owing to lack of transport facilities (those with transport facilities have of course been denied them in order to more effectively oppress them : G.P.), administrative officers can best serve the State by *exhorting the natives, through their chiefs*, to adopt some form of active work, pointing out that situated as they are, they can only do so profitably by engaging to work for the Government or on the farms which are seeking their labour." (Emphasis mine ; quoted from Buell, page 509 : G.P.).

We could go on enumerating dozens of such quotations from various authorities, official and otherwise—for even the imperialists do not hide up what Mr. Horrabin tries to conceal—but space prevents us from doing so.

Again, this gentleman challenges the following statement on page 87 of my book :

" In 1929 the natives of Uganda *attempted to organise*." Although he admits the truth of this fact, and, more so, the open brutality of the

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imperialist representatives of the Labour Government in murdering these Africans in cold blood—this "Socialist," notwithstanding his platitudes, would justify this under the excuse that "they were not proletarians."

But this pseudo-Marxist should know that Simon-pure proletarians, thanks to the economic backwardness, enforced by imperialism on a colony such as Uganda, would not exist. The truth of the matter is that the vast majority of these natives are semi-proletarians who, because of the fact that it is illegal to organise openly into a labour movement, are compelled to resort to the native churches and under the disguise of "religious" bodies discuss their basic social, economic, and political problems.

Now, what was the problem in question?

Facts which even you, Mr. Horrabin, would never unearth, because, my good sir, you must not be so naïve as to believe that everything that goes on among the blacks, must be known to you. However, for your enlightenment, we will say that this "peculiar sect of Christians"—to use your own words—were discussing the Government's attempt to increase taxation on them—under the excuse of carrying through public health measures—at the very time when the agrarian crisis was playing havoc with their lives.

Phrases That Mask Murder

There is hardly a problem in Africa which, however unimportant it might appear to the outsider, does not involve the struggle for fundamental economic and political rights of the Negroes. Therefore, what might appear to the casual observer as an ordinary administrative measure, means for us more taxation, smaller incomes—not to talk about an absolute denial of our political right of saying whether we want such-and-such a measure enacted or not.

When the Belgian Government, with the blessings of Mr. Horrabin's political bed-fellow, Vandervelde, were recently massacring our black class brothers in the Congo—they were "suppressing witch doctors." But we who have connections with the Congo know that the revolt of the workers and peasants was caused by the effects of the crisis, the tremendous growth of unemployment and the attempt of the Government to collect taxes.

Similarly, when the Japanese imperialists wanted to carry through their massacre and plunder in Manchuria, they yelled "bandits." So here we have it: In East Africa—"a peculiar sect of Christians," in the Congo—"witch doctors," in Manchuria—"bandits."

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Aren't you Labour leaders in Britain ashamed to be repeating the catch words of your masters ?

I shall treat your " query " : " Would the U.S.S.R. permit a primitive religious sect to block sanitary or health measures ? " with the contempt it deserves. For this is just an indirect way of slandering the Soviet proletariat, who, as you know damn well, are liquidating illiteracy, and raising the culture of peoples who but yesterday were as " primitive " as we Africans, *without* sending the Red Army to massacre defenceless peasants, as MacDonald and Thomas, with the silent approval of the Horrabins, sent the King's African Rifles to shoot down " that peculiar sect of Christians " in Uganda in 1929.

But, finally, a question to this philistine, who on page 66 of the *Plebs*, writes : " Truly, the black inhabitants of Earth have a long and fearful score to pay off against their white brethren." Mr. Horrabin, do you really mean this ? If so, you are objectively supporting the thesis of the Klu Klux Klan, Hitler, and all jingoists, who, season in and season out, are preaching *race* war, by warning the " Nordics," the " Aryans," or whatever these " peculiar sect of whites " call themselves, that one day the " darker races " will wake up and sweep them off the face of the Earth.

Well, whatever you mean—*we* savage Africans, we barbarous blacks, we " peculiar sect of Christians," have learnt enough from the victorious Russian revolution on the one side and from the record of the Labour Party on the other to repudiate such a thesis. We know that *our emancipation is part and parcel of the victorious struggles of the international proletariat, and the colonial peoples*, whether white, black or yellow, and has *nothing to do with a " race " struggle of " Black against White."*

We, too, have our own black capitalists and imperialist lackeys like yourself to fight against. And truly, when the day of reckoning comes, we *have* a long and fearful score to pay off—not against our white class brothers, but against the imperialists and their agents, white and black.

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THE SECOND "LABOUR MONTHLY" CONFERENCE

THE Second Conference of readers of the LABOUR MONTHLY was held in the afternoon and evening of Saturday, April 16, at the Bethnal Green Public Library. The agenda for the conference was the discussion of the war crisis and the capitalist offensive.

Comrade **J. R. Scott**, who was in the chair, opened the conference by observing that while the Conference was originally fixed for the purpose of discussing the capitalist crisis, the fact that the capitalist crisis had reached such a stage that war was actually on, was sufficient for the war-crisis to be placed in the forefront of the discussion.

He remarked on the great confusion in the ranks of the working class in regard to the question of war and expressed the hope that as a result of the expression of differing viewpoints on this supremely important question at the conference, and a thorough-going discussion, everyone present would be able to give a clearer lead on the problems confronting the working class to-day.

The chairman concluded by asking Comrade **J. R. Campbell** to read the letter which had been addressed to the conference by Comrade **R. Palme Dutt**, the editor of the LABOUR MONTHLY, and which is printed elsewhere in this number. He stressed the extreme importance of this document and counselled close study of, and constant reference to, it.

After the letter had been read, Comrade **R. Page Arnot** opened the discussion. Everybody, he thought, recognised the seriousness of the issues but he doubted whether the extreme urgency of the situation was fully realised. If he were to say that we were discussing not war in a remote or general sense, but discussing a war crisis which in all probability would reach the stage of open war against the Soviet Union within two or three months from now, that perhaps would convey some idea of the urgency of the situation. He did not give this as a definite date because a Marxist cannot give a definite prognostication. But unless the seriousness and urgency as of an impending crash was felt, we would not be able to help in the organisation of the working class struggle which alone can prevent the coming of that war.

It was necessary to understand the why and wherefore of this urgency. Three years of deepening world economic crisis had driven steadily towards breaking point, and as solution after solution failed for the capitalists, the solution of war thrust forward upon them. The war that was waging now, this war without a declaration of war, was the present stage that the world crisis had reached. It was an urgent situation before in 1923; it was an urgent situation at the time of the Arcos raid in 1927; it was a still more urgent situation in 1929, with the attack on the frontiers of the Soviet Union in the Far East, and each time at these urgent moments the war impending was staved off partly by the action of the working class.

But the answer to anyone who asked "Is there any greater urgency now?" was this: that it was precisely the present stage of the world crisis of capitalism which made the drive to war a hundred-fold greater. The significant fact

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in 1931-2 was that war had already begun. If we realised that this was the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan, that Dneprostroy and Magnitogorsk, and other tremendous works of the Five-Year Plan were getting into action, that the bread problem was almost completely solved, and that just this summer, when the harvest months were past, it becomes extremely difficult for the capitalist Powers to wage war against the Soviet Union—when we realised how time presses for the capitalist Powers in the war against the Soviet Union then we realised how urgent the situation was.

The workers were beginning in country after country to realise that the only answer to their questions, what means is there to stop war, was the same answer as was given during the first imperialist war in 1914-18 by Lenin—to stop war you must end capitalism, to fight effectively against war you must overthrow your own Government and destroy your own capitalist class.

Comrade Arnot then turned to consider the reaction of the workers to the present events. It was said, notably by the Independent Labour Party, that the workers were apathetic. This was not merely false but was an attempt to seek an excuse for treachery. Those who spoke of the apathy of the workers were describing their own powerlessness to counter the tremendously strong propaganda of the capitalist press and the attitude of the Labour Party which sheltered itself behind the lies of the capitalist press.

This powerlessness to tear the web of lies from the face of the working class could only be due to wrong theories, wrong methods and treatment of the issues. The feeling that this was another " war-scare " showed that the alarm was being raised in a purely general and unconvincing way. It was necessary to have a convincing analysis of events and to use every incident that could illustrate this analysis, especially in demonstrating the secrecy with which the development to war takes place. It was a fact that in the first week of July, 1914, it was said that European affairs had not been so quiet for many years.

There were a series of sophistries presented to the working class which must be continually fought. The underlying idea was that British imperialism (contrary to the inherent nature of imperialism) was a peaceful imperialism, while other imperialisms (and the Soviet Union) were continually denounced as warmongering. This often took the form that the people of Britain would not go to war (" we'll not be caught again ").

There arose in all this a curious confusion, which was part of the illusion of capitalist democracy—the idea that the people, the working class, are British, that they are the same as the capitalist State, that they are the same as control by finance-capital. A further form of the same idea was that British imperialism would not go to war because if it did there would be a revolution, and this led to the view that the sooner war came the better, for war would mean revolution.

This was fatalism, a passive attitude which played entirely into the hands of the governing class, and was analogous to the " let-them-starve " theory ; both arguments held back the workers from struggle now.

The point of view was often put that the workers would stop war if it came, or would intervene as the Russian workers did in 1917. This incorrectly implied that war against the Soviet Union would develop like the war of 1914-18 though clearly it would develop quite differently.

Our fight must not simply be one of using the whole fight against the capitalist offensive in order to fight against the war, but there must be a most

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direct fight against all war measures. The example of the Jolly George in 1920 was the strongest proof that the workers in this country without a direct economic issue could be roused to fight against war.

With this in view the development of work in the Trade Union branches, the development of every struggle now proceeding, the development of the fight of Ireland and India against British imperialism, plus the direct attempt to stop munitions, must be our aim.

Comrade Arnot's speech was followed by interventions from Roer and Goldstein, two members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, who considerably incensed the conference by delivering partisan anti-Communist speeches on their Party's familiar lines. The chairman ruled, amid applause, that propaganda speeches of this character were not wanted at this conference and would not be tolerated.

Comrade **T. Thurlbeck** thought that there was insufficient understanding of the workers. It was very hard to approach workers in factories such as Woolwich Arsenal. It took time to establish factory committees but it was necessary to act now. The attempt to stop the Glenshiel should not have been confined to the militant dockers and seaman but we should have put the issue to all workers in London to concentrate and demonstrate at the docks.

Comrade **Williams** urged the need for a Trade Union united against war. In his branch of the National Union of Railwaymen he had succeeded in getting a resolution passed which was going to the District Council of the Union and was being circulated to all other union branches in the locality. The resolution was " That this branch views with alarm the war moves of the various imperialist powers. We demand the withdrawal of all British troops from war zones, and, further, we are determined to fight against all war moves."

Comrade **J. R. Campbell** remarked that we had to show the workers that the coming war would not be like 1914-18, with fairly steady jobs and fairly good wages for munition workers. 1914 came at the end of a period of expansion in British industry, when capitalism had accumulated tremendous reserves to finance the war. War to-day, coming on top of ten years of crisis, with unemployment never below the million mark, could only be financed by an intensified attack on the working class, by the inflation of the currency, by savage repression of the working class movement and of all militant workers who took a stand against the war.

We had to combat the romantic illusions about war prevalent among the youth by recalling the experiences of the last war : and we had to deal also with the argument that war would solve the economic problems of capitalist society.

The stopping of the production and transport of munitions would be assisted if there were really representative anti-war committees. Union branches which have passed resolutions against war should take the initiative in calling anti-war conferences in their localities to mobilise all workers to carry forward the fight against war.

Comrade **C. Berridge**, who was the last speaker before the interval, particularly stressed the importance of intensive trade union work as an essential part of the fight against war. While the Trade Union leadership had been very widely exposed in regard to their role in the economic struggles there

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had by no means been the same exposure of their attitude and policy in regard to war. The passing of resolutions in the trade union branches against war needed to be carried forward to the organising of resistance to war.

War on the Soviet Union should be presented in a more concrete fashion, as war on the seven-hour day, &c.

Militant trade unionists should make themselves responsible for the establishment of contacts at all important points connected with the manufacture and transport of munitions and to approach directly the workers concerned.

After the interval, Comrade **Swinton** raised the point that he thought the idea that British workers were " different " from the Russians and would have a " decent " revolution should be broken down, since it helped to keep the workers dormant.

Comrade **Raylock** spoke of the militarisation of young workers that was taking place on a wide scale and which could only be combated by building up a really militant young workers' organisation.

Comrade **King** thought that there was some truth in the statements that were coming from the Labour Party leaders and I.L.P. leaders in regard to the general apathy of the workers, especially with regard to war. There was no use in hiding the fact that the workers were apathetic and indifferent to war in the East, because they say " What has the war in China got to do with us ? " It was a very difficult thing to reach the masses but until we had contacts on the job it was futile and stupid to say we could stop a ship or stop the manufacture of munitions.

There were six or seven million contented workers and the masses thought themselves economically secure. This conference should set up an anti-war committee ; we needed demonstrations, not in Hyde Park, but to the munition factories. It was not our first task to arouse the masses but to arouse the Communist Party and Minority Movement members and contacts.

Comrade **W. Joss** declared that one of the main features of the situation was the workers' scepticism in regard to the war. This was due to the insidious and constant propaganda conducted throughout the working class around the League of Nations by the reformist leaders. There was a conspiracy of silence which we must use the whole force of the working class to break through. It was also necessary to expose the false emphasis laid by the reformists on capitalist divisions in order to hide the nearness of war.

In combating the illusion that war means work we needed particularly to bear in mind the older workers now unemployed whose only memory of steady work was associated with the last war.

It was of the greatest importance for everyone at the conference to do everything in their power to make May Day this year a really powerful mobilisation of the masses against war.

Comrade **W. Rust** spoke of the manner in which the capitalists, by their propaganda, and by using the weapon of pacifism, were able to hide the facts of the situation of the toilers. Certainly we were fighting against the stream, but we did not therefore conclude that the workers were apathetic : on the contrary we must conclude that we need to intensify our fight against the capitalists who are veiling the truth from the workers. The twin of the " apathy "

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argument was " let them starve " ; such arguments arose from our own lack of understanding and inability to answer the capitalists.

We had to show that it was not a case of the capitalist system in general drifting into war, but the capitalist class deliberately preparing war : and our anti-war drive must be made a fight and not a mere exposure.

The suggestion that an anti-war committee should be set up at this conference was distorting our aim : what we needed was a drive to the factories and trade unions to build up rank-and file anti-war organisations, united front committees, to organise active anti-war work.

Comrade **Saklatvala** pointed to the part played by the Labour leaders in assiduously helping on war preparations by their propaganda. The struggle in the colonies was of great importance in this connection ; the colonial fight should be turned into an anti-war fight. The LABOUR MONTHLY should convene conferences in the provinces, especially in the important war and munitions centres.

Comrade **Wise** asked whether the workers were not in fact asleep and stressed that the press was the workers' greatest enemy. He referred to the stoppage of the *Daily Mail* by the printers in 1926. Could such action be got to-day on the war issue ? The Communist Party had been declared illegal by a judge but was allowed to exist ; was it because the capitalists considered the Party innocuous ? He thought that some drastic and unconstitutional action was necessary to put a clear issue before the workers to awaken them.

Comrade **John Strachey** said that undoubtedly the period between now and mid-summer was one of very acute danger of war against the Soviet Union. A deed and not a word, the stopping of some shop or a protest strike, some spectacular action, was what was needed. Individual work—and contact in the Trade Union branches was vital ; and in addition to this long-term propaganda there was the immediate key question of opening the workers' eyes to the danger of war. In his own case his eyes had been opened that all the capitalist and Labour Party solutions of the crisis, whether it were Empire Free Trade or " National Planning," led to war.

Comrade **Beacon** suggested that a campaign should be conducted for the widespread collecting of workers' signatures to a pledge to use a war situation for the purpose of turning it into a war against their own government.

Comrade **Shanley** spoke of the relation between anti-war propaganda and the economic struggles. If we gained the confidence of the workers in economic struggles they would listen to us when we came forward with our anti-war propaganda. The failure to stop the Glenshiel was linked with our failure to mobilise the dockers in support of the lightermen during their recent strike.

The Chairman took up the suggestion of Comrade Beacon and said that he thought it quite unreal and for obvious reasons undesirable. He went on to outline the possibilities of work in the Trade Union branches and referred to the need for answering arguments expressed in the Trade Union journals—such, for instance, as that disarmament would mean unemployment for engineers.

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Comrade **Yajnik** supported the points made by Saklatvala and referred to the war that was going on in India to-day. He spoke of the strength of pacifism in India. Gandhi was a pacifist—in peace-time, and a warmonger in war-time.

At this point the Chairman asked the remaining speakers to withdraw their names, which was agreed to, and Comrade **Arnot** replied to the discussion. Speech after speech at the Conference (he said) had shown a lack of the needed understanding of the present position : he therefore put the question —were all present convinced of the reality of the war ? It was essential for everyone to carry back the note of alarm into every circle in which they mixed.

There had been talk in the conference itself of the workers' " apathy " : all those who spoke in this way were, consciously or unconsciously, playing the game of the capitalists. Actually militancy during the last few months had never been higher, notably in the colonial countries.

Talk of apathy led to " solutions " of despair, such as the essentially anarchist suggestions for " drastic and unconstitutional " action. This was suggested by Comrade Wise and hinted at by Comrade Strachey.

Clear understanding and real conviction were the only basis for action. He suggested the following practical steps :

Find out all the arguments used by the workers and the petty bourgeoisie about the war and see that these are answered.

Find out every possible fact about the manufacture and transport of munitions.

Get relatives of men in the forces to write to them and tell them what the struggle against the capitalist offensive was like.

Get ex-servicemen who were in the 1918-20 intervention in Russia to give their experiences.

Use the showing of war films (e.g., the Shanghai news-reels) to riase protests in the cinemas.

Demonstrations to munitions works would be valuable. All-round work in the building up of the various mass organisations was essential and the work in the Union branches for the building of anti-war united front committees was supremely important.

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The World of Labour

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U.S.A.

The Miners' Strike in Kentucky

THE strike of thousands of Kentucky miners against the employers began after the district conference of the National Miners' Union in December, which declared that if the government and employers did not accept their demands a strike would be declared on January 1. The demands put forward were: an increase of wages; the recognition of the National Miners' Union (N.M.U.) and miners' committees, elected pit inspectors; re-employment of all workers dismissed and put on the black list (because of their activities in the last strike); withdrawal of armed forces from the coalfield and equal rights for coloured workers. All these demands were rejected, and terrible repressions, terror and violence began to reign in Kentucky. Revolutionary leaders arrested, the district bureau of the N.M.U. was raided and active miners deported. Police, fascists, armed legions, Press, priests, all were brought into action. Agents visited the workers' houses, bullying their wives, trying to prevent their husbands from joining the N.M.U. In spite of all these attempts to break the strike, 10,000 miners out of 18,000 came out. The strike spread to West Virginia.

This strike is the continuation of a movement which began in 1931, when the coalowners reduced their starvation wages by 10 per cent. The miners' resistance manifested itself in a series of local strikes. Employers responded with mass dismissals, and repression. It is important to note that as the reformist miners' unions absolutely sabotaged the struggle all the fight was carried on by the rank-and-file themselves without any political or financial help. Every day bloody collisions took place between the workers and the police. The centre of the struggle was Edwarts, where, on May 1, murder bands armed with bombs and machine guns opened fire on the workers. Many workers were shot, and others arrested. The police occupied the strike district and remained there till July. But the fight spread over wider areas. The experience of this fight caused widespread disillusionment amongst the workers, in the leaders of the reformist unions and the miners joined the N.M.U. in their thousands. Through its activities and leadership of the struggles the N.M.U. gained more and more the confidence of the masses of miners.

The District N.M.U. conference (the first mining conference in Kentucky for 10 years) began the mobilisation of the masses and the building of strike committees throughout all the states. One should note the close contact and solidarity existing between the employed and unemployed during the strike preparations; the miners, already starving whilst working in pits, shared their meagre meals with the families of those dismissed (in the majority of cases because of their activities).

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The strike is going on under conditions of terror. The employers and government are determined to starve the miners back to work at all cost. In the Harlan county the sherriff has posted armed thugs at all grocery stores with instructions to arrest and kill any member of the Central Relief Committee buying groceries for relief. But the C.R.C. defeated this attack by buying goods outside Harlan and sending it by underground routes. (At the same time the fake relief activities of the United Mineworkers of America collapsed after a couple of days, announcing that their relief funds, actually used for strike breaking, were exhausted). Mass arrests are taking place every day; lawyers who arrived to defend the workers were put into prison as well. A delegation of writers who arrived from New York to investigate into the conditions of life of the strikers were prevented from crossing the frontier by Kentucky authorities and armed troops. Two other delegations of students from the Columbian University were batoned. Anyone who dares to cross the frontier of Kentucky is threatened with death.

The mining companies have decided to destroy at all costs the N.M.U. The following notice is posted in all towns of Kentucky:

> REWARD.
>
> There will be paid to the person or persons delivering the body of Frank Borich, Secretary of the N.M.U., to our headquarters the sum of One Thousand Dollars ($1,000). No questions asked.
>
> ——— Harlan Home Guard.

After several weeks of struggle the mineowners appealed to the American Federation of Labour to take the lead of the struggle. They issued appeals to the strikers to join the reformist union. Meetings were organised under the protection of gangsters, but the miners gave a definite answer to these manœuvres. The Secretary of the reformist miners' union, in spite of being escorted by a military detachment armed to the teeth, was driven out of Kentucky and didn't dare to return. In the face of terrible repression and terror the strikers continue their fight: driven out of their homes they live in the woods; having no rooms for meetings they gather in the woods in order to discuss their struggle.

POLAND

The Strike Movement

ON February 18, immediately after the strike in the coalfields of Polish Upper Silesia, a general miners' strike began in the coalfields of Dombrowo and Kracow. This strike was a result of mass dismissals and an attempt to introduced a 21–25 per cent. wage reduction. Being afraid of the militant spirit of the workers the fascist government came forward with a proposal that the wage cuts should be limited to 8 per cent.

The leaders of the miners' associations took advantage of the government's proposals, and at a conference with representatives from the employers on January 29, declared their readiness " to limit " the wage cuts to 8 per cent. On the eve of the same day notices were posted in all pits that on February 1

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wages would be reduced by 8 per cent. But the miners didn't accept this. Daily demonstrations organised by the Communist Party and the pressure of the revolutionary trade union opposition, compelled the central union of the miners to proclaim a strike. This strike comprised 40,000 miners. From its very beginning the strike assumed the form of mass demonstrations under the leadership of the Communist Party. All fascist papers stated that the strike, which was formally called by the Socialist union, was practically led by the Communist Party.

The Klimentowo and Modrejov demonstrations were organised by women who beat up the strike breakers. The fascist police received orders not to spare their cartridges, but the workers stood up to it. The police attacked a demonstration in Kazavery and when the workers offered resistance fired, as a result of which 2 workers were killed and 12 seriously wounded. On the same day during a mass demonstration in Czelandz, two other workers were killed. The burial of the victims assumed the form of a tremendous demonstration. In spite of the repressive measures the strike struggle was assuming an ever-sharper character.

In some cases the workers took possession of the pits and prevented the safety-men from working. The strikers were joined by the workers of the Strem chemical works in Szremieslya, who proclaimed a solidarity strike. The municipal offices were demolished by unemployed in Poreba. This strike called forth a fresh wave of militancy in Upper Silesia. The miners there demanded that their trade unions join the strike; in a number of pits they struck work at once. The tramway workers union of Upper Silesia adopted a decision to join the strike in the event of a general strike in the coal mining industry.

The strike struggle in the Kracow and Dombrowo area is directed not only against the reduction of wages—this fight is at the same time directed against the wholesale dismissals, closing down of pits, against the whole capitalist system of starvation.

March 16 formed a new important stage in the development of the revolutionary struggle in Poland. A series of powerful struggles took place throughout the country. For two weeks the glassworkers of Petricau occupied the factory and the workers of the most important industries (mining, railway, metal, commercial, landworkers) made ready for a strike. Just at this moment the Polish Socialist Party came forward with a new manœuvre and proclaimed on March 16 a one-day general strike against the new laws of the fascist government, whilst on March 17, "Robotnic," the central organ of the Polish Socialist Party, issued the following statement: "Contrary to all rumours which have caused so much concern and excitement we declare that our strike was only to express the feeling of the solidarity of the working class, that it was only to be a peaceful demonstration." The aim of this manœuvre of a one-day strike which has been repeatedly employed by the Polish Socialist Party, is to give vent to the accumulated discontent and revolutionary energy and thereby to prevent what would inevitably be longer strikes. At the same time this Party did everything it could to keep back from the strike every important category of worker; nevertheless, they did not succeed. In Warsaw, apart from the State factories of the army, the stronghold of the Polish Socialist Party, nearly the whole of the metal industry (29 factories, including one munition factory) came out.

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Workers from the railway workshops in Warsaw and many other towns joined in the strike. The bourgeois Press estimated the total number of workers who came out in Warsaw alone at 35,000. In Kracow and Dombrowo where the miners' strike was still on, every single worker was out. The strike embraced also the whole of the oil industry, all transport workers, and the workers in the munition factories in many towns.

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BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY PREPARES FOR WAR.

Peace and Disarmament. Leon Blum. (Jonathan Cape.) 7s. 6d. 202 pp.
War Again To-morrow. Ludwig Bauer. (Faber & Faber.) 7s. 6d. 314 pp.
What Fighting Means. C. E. M. Joad. (No More War Movement.) 3d. 20 pp.

WAR preparations can no longer be hidden: the fact of war is shattering the pacifist illusions sedulously spread among the workers by Social-Democracy; the guns in Manchuria have blown the myth of "peaceful" imperialism to atoms. A new tactical line is required to meet the position; the war must be idealised into a "just" war; once more it has to be proved that the war is the cause of Peace, Justice and Democracy.

To say this openly would defeat the purpose of the propaganda. Therefore the pill has to be sugar-coated in the form of a criticism of capitalist policy—even to a criticism of the Second International itself so that the foul lies of the capitalists can be repeated and repeated under the disguise of an intellectual and learned analysis of the international situation. The peace proposals of the Soviet Union have to be dismissed as "bombast" while the adherence of capitalist statesmen to the "principle" of disarmament are elaborated into a new "world force" which would ensure eternal peace if it were not for the existence of "dictatorships."

Therefore such books as *Peace and Disarmament* and *War Again To-morrow.*

Leon Blum is the leader of the French Socialist Party. His book has a wider significance than an expression of individual opinion—it is a series of political directives and an elaboration of the policy of French Social Democracy. It is therefore important that revolutionary workers should be acquainted with its contents—if only to clarify their minds on the point that the MacDonalds, Hendersons and Maxtons are not peculiar to Britain, but that Social-Democracy runs true to type in all countries as a purveyor of capitalist dope under a cloak of Socialist phraseology.

For example, we see how in Britain the L.P. and I.L.P. play their part in concealing the danger of war from the workers. Leon Blum establishes this as a principle of Socialist policy:

> it (the Socialist policy—J.R.S.) also implies a general doctrine—the express and emphatic denial of even the mere possibility of a war.
> (*Peace and Disarmament*, page 33.)

It is therefore interesting to note that while war is being carried on on the North-West Frontier and China, while in every colonial country the latest technique of capitalist warfare is used against unarmed people, Socialists must declare that "war" is impossible. Must we presume that if war is waged on "unarmed" natives it is no longer "war" to "Socialists"!

In Britain, the *Daily Herald*, the organ of the Labour Party, develops the three-sided policy of solving the crisis by a "New Industrial Revolution," by "developing markets" while at the same time attacking machinery and scientists. Leon Blum does likewise in France, the markets he specifically indicates:

> The outside factors which might shorten the crisis would be the reopening of big markets like Russia and China. (*Peace and Disarmament*, page 104.)

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Lees-Smith and Leon Blum are therefore allies, giving joint support to the partitioning of China as a solution of the capitalist crisis, only Leon is less cautious in that he indicates the next step and openly reveals the Manchurian way as a step to the " reopening " of Russia as a capitalist colony.

On Reparations it will be remembered how Snowden became the " Iron Jawed " Cromwell of British capitalism, demanding no revision at the expense of " our " country. Leon Blum, if anything, out-jingoes him :

> What does it matter to us whether America gets paid or not ? We would only care, if, following a suspension or reduction of these indirect payments, we were forced to pay our debt to America directly. But France does not consider herself in any way obliged to do this. (*Peace and Disarmament*, page 56.)

But to get to the kernel of the book. After developing the thesis that the Peace Treaties will preserve the *status quo* without war (because the principles which govern the treaties are " the principle of Nationality and the principle of Self-Determination ! "—page 65) Leon Blum is still faced with the fact of France's £150,000,000 War Budget. How is it to be explained and justified in the interests of Peace and Disarmament. Nothing easier for a Social-Democrat. Here is the proof from his book :

> What stops them from carrying the idea of disarmament . . . to its logical conclusion is the precise fear that . . . it would work in favour of the dictatorships. (Page 186.)

> Every person and every collective body who wants to organise peace must necessarily work for the destruction of the Dictatorships. . . . In present day Europe, dictatorial government remains unpunished. (Page 187.)

> There is no Parliament in Russia. There is none in Italy nor in Hungary, nor in Poland. The same tyranny hangs over the electors and the elected. Who can vouch, in these enslaved countries for the accuracy of the Budget and all financial accounts. . . . Nothing could be more effective than workers' control and " workers' sanctions " and that is why peace cannot be organised on a solid basis so long as these anti-worker governments continue to exist. (Pages 184 and 191.)

So, according to Social-Democracy, all capitalist statesmen being agreed on the necessity for disarmament, but being unable to achieve their peaceful desires because of the existence of " dictatorships " what speedier path to peace than a war on dictatorship !

Ludwig Bauer develops a similar thesis from a different angle and with other trimmings, but the basic unity is there. Here we have a keen criticism of capitalism, with a particularly devastating attack on the " Pink " International as, for example :

> What nation, Upper Silesia or the Corridor or Slovakia or the Banat, belongs to does not matter to MacDonald any more than to Austen Chamberlain. But what power controls India and Egypt and the Mandated Territories, is a matter of equal importance to them both. (*War Again To-morrow*, page 92.)

But it is the " mixture as before." All the criticism of capitalist economy, tariffs, &c., and the plea for planned economy are trimmings for the fundamental thesis that the hopes of peace are :

> The League of Nations ; Pacifism ; the Church ; the Second International, &c.

While the dangers of war are :

> Revision of Peace Treaties ; Lenin and his Heritage ; Mussolini ; America and the Machine ; the Peoples of Asia ; German Revanche.

Such is the author's index and chapter classification.

In *What Fighting Means*, C. E. M. Joad examines the horrors of war, tells us how war breeds immorality, lying, and so on. But he also definitely states that the purpose of the pamphlet is to state " the Pacifist case against Revolution "

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and that he is a " Pacifist first and a socialist second," and that he will do his best to " prevent a revolutionary situation from arising," because " I do not believe that even if a revolution were able to achieve an economic millenium . . . the result would be worth the price in human misery and suffering it would involve."

But of course the " price of human suffering and misery " involved in maintaining the present system, of which Joad is one of the intellectual spokesmen, and which is yielding him an " economic millenium," is quite a different matter. But of course, as with the others, Joad carefully conceals the fact that the question is not a choice between Peace, War or Revolution—but between War and Revolution. To be against revolution is to be in favour of Capitalism—and War !

J.R.S.

ALDOUS HUXLEY MAKES MUNITIONS

Brave New World. Aldous Huxley. (Chatto & Windus.) 7s. 6d.

A NEW novel by Aldous Huxley is important, as this author has always revealed himself as a keen analyst of contemporary life in respect to the realities that underlie surface manifestation of the great comedy of manners. He has been something of an X-ray photographer of the human mind. Moreover, as he might be said to represent the modern cultured bourgeois intellectual of the younger school, largely emancipated from former religious and moral sanctions, mentally hovering over Society, sometimes seriously reflecting, but more often with mephistophilean humour indulging in a contemplation which results in creating amongst many of their intellectual readers nothing but a barren sterility as to any living faith for the future betterment of mankind.

If it were not for a belief that the Communist Movement will sweep on to success through the exertion of other forces regardless of these ruminations of the intellectuals one might see more mischief in a work like *Brave New World*, especially that, by implication, it has been seized upon by some prominent reviewers, notably Miss Rebecca West, of the *Daily Telegraph*, and used as destructive criticism of Communism in general and of Soviet Russia in particular. Indeed, Mr. Aldous Huxley himself in his last book of essays, *Music at Night*, gives some justification for such a use in his references there to the Soviet régime.

The novel is a vision of the future. Not utopian in the sense of presenting a picture of a world " Remoulded nearer to the Heart's Desire," but on the contrary a presentation calculated to leave a feeling of horror and despairing gloom.

It is a representation of a future dominated entirely by a so-called scientific development. The old God both in the anthropomorphic sense and in the more modern pantheistic neo-christian idea has been superseded by the god Ford, both as a serious Almightiness conception, and as a swearing expletive.

The basis of this society is mainly built on the behaviourist school of psychological philosophy, principally associated with Dr. John B. Watson, of America. By scientific application of these theories of determining human character and standard of development by conditioned reflexes, which means

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that living organisms can be determined in their likes and dislikes by association with things, otherwise naturally pleasing and displeasing, other objects and sensations pleasing and displeasing to a greater intensity in both cases. Associating flowers, for instance, with the pain of electric shocks in the mind of the young infant leads to a mentality which experiences in the future no joy at beholding such things.

This vision of a science-run-mad world is contrasted with a picture of a survival of the past civilisation in a remote American colony, shut off by electric means from the rest of the world, in which there are people of primitive passions and instincts. Hot-blooded, having their joys in the hunt, and wild dance, and self-inflicted suffering, and certain æsthetic art pleasure.

Whether it is in accordance with the author's view and intention or not, one can see that the picture represents under the satirical form and exaggeration the very condition of society under capitalism as it is more and more becoming in its intensified development. Thought, conditioned by repetition, inculcated in early childhood at church and school. Limited education and disciplinary treatment for the working classes, conditioning a type to fit in with the industrial requirements of a servile slightly " educated " proletariat. The atmosphere and methods of the public school system, creating a superior sense of authority and class consciousness in those who pass through them, fitting their mentality as " Alphas " for bossing the mass workers. The modern rationalisation of industry with its mass production, without mass distribution, resulting in long hours of mindless toil of a robot-like worker and mass unemployment without the necessary materials of life to make the leisure a joy that it might be. Modern entertainment determined almost entirely by the economic factors of the box office, resulting in stereotyped productions reduced to the lowest common denominator. Furnishing the masses with a false romance, keeping a contentment with their real colourless lives. Sex, robbed of its natural fulfilment and free selection through economic restrictions. " Marriage and dependence," as H. G. Wells says in his new book, " still provide the most dazzling and social and monetary prizes for women," rendering it thus a form of conventional prostitution.

The fettering of the free spirit in art, religion and the press, due to economic factors, resulting in tunes being played by the pipers in these things according to the call of their capitalist payers.

This standardisation and restriction of liberty is not only an imposed one which has been thrust upon a docile community by a State authority, but is inherent in the very essential circumstances of a capitalistic system of economics which has the making of profit as its only law.

A communal organisation, in order to procure for all the necessary materials for full existence with the minimum amount of labour would give leisure and freedom from economic restraint, in order to free mankind to reach out towards a full development of the better side of its nature. Such writings as this and the use made of them in the press is a subtle attempt on the part of these cultured intellectuals to prejudice people against such communal organisation, suggesting that humanity would not desire to use the results of modern science for ends entirely different from the nightmare Aldous Huxley puts before us. It reveals a belittling view of the working class born of a cultural experience of those reared, and who have their being, in an environment of the leisured class of a decaying industrial civilisation, remote from contact with the thinking working class and " the secret people who have not spoken yet." It is a lack of faith in

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man. Man freed from the class fetters that now imprison his free spirit. A lack of faith which ends in a sterility of any constructive idea for the moral and social chaos they see around.

Such pessimistic decadent mentality displayed in writings such as come from many of our younger intellectuals, and the seizure of them by writers in the bourgeois press, as a stick with which to beat the Communist dog, is sinister in its effect.

J. P. D.

A CORNER-STONE OF BOLSHEVISM.

What is to be Done? By V. I. Lenin. (Martin Lawrence.) Paper boards 2s. Library edition 7s. 6d.

AT last the complete text of one of Lenin's greatest works is available in a popular form: and its availability to revolutionaries in this country is, at the present moment, exceedingly opportune. While it is thirty years old, its lessons apply with peculiar force to our movement in Britain to-day.

Writing in 1919, Lenin emphasised the great lesson of the Russian revolution that "without a serious, varied and complete preparation of the *revolutionary* section of the proletariat for the expulsion and the crushing of opportunism, it is foolish to think of the dictatorship of the proletariat." In that "serious, varied and complete preparation," an historic stage—following on Lenin's earlier rout of the Populists and the foundation of Iskra—was marked by *What is to be Done?*

Like everything Lenin wrote, this is a very concrete book: a book that "dates," the Philistine would say. In form it is a comprehensive polemic against those sections of Russian Social-Democracy that had by that time already crystallised into the tendency of "Economism." But in and through this polemic Lenin was carrying his fight for the revolutionary workers' party to its greatest height: and it is a matter of historical fact that the next year, at the famous Second (London) Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, the split took place, and the Bolshevik Party was born.

Lenin shows the supreme importance of the theoretical fight, of the struggle for a clear and scientific revolutionary theory. He demonstrates the chaos and confusion into which the disciples of "freedom of criticism" would throw the revolutionary movement. He quotes the words of Engels on the three forms of the revolutionary struggle—political, economic and theoretical.

Next comes a devastating refutation of the "economists" and their prostration before the spontaneous movement of the working class. The task of the revolutionary workers' party is not to bow down in awe before the elemental, spontaneous movement, but to make this movement conscious, to develop the revolutionary Communist political struggle out of the primitive trade union struggle.

To bow down before the spontaneous movement means in actual fact to lag behind the workers, to abdicate the functions of leadership; and from this it follows that the organisation of those holding such a view will be likewise elemental and primitive. Against this Lenin sets forth the conception of a solidly-organised revolutionary party, with its steel core of "professional revolutionaries," trained in the work of fighting the Government and the secret police, and able to carry through the Party work and maintain the Party even under the conditions of the most severe illegality.

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In a striking passage, Lenin says :

> A man who is weak and vacillating on theoretical questions, who makes excuses for his own slackness on the ground that the masses are awakening spontaneously, who resembles a trade union secretary more than a people's tribune, who is unable to conceive a broad and bold plan, who is incapable of inspiring even his enemies with respect for himself, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—the art of combating the political police—such a man is not a revolutionary but a hopeless amateur !

But to begin quoting from this masterpiece would soon mean reproducing the whole work : it must suffice here to direct the particular attention of the reader to the chapter dealing with the revolutionary newspaper and its all-important rôle. Lenin refers specifically, it should be noted, to the necessity of such a paper being a *daily* paper. And every word that he has to say about the nature of such a revolutionary newspaper, and its part as the " next link in the chain " of revolutionary working class struggle, needs study by our movement to-day.

G. A. H.

" INDUSTRIAL PEACE "

La Paix Industrielle et le Mouvement Trade Unioniste contemporain en Grande-Bretagne. Par Dante Rosenthal. (Paris : les Presses Universitaires de France.) Frs. 40.

THE young French scholar who is the author of this thesis for the degree of doctor of laws sets out to sketch, after giving a general outline of the development of British Trade Unionism during and after the war, the " industrial peace " manœuvres of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress in the well-known Melchett-Turner conferences.

The sketch is a formal one, based on the readily available official documents and reports. Dr. Rosenthal is a typical product of a bourgeois university : the collaboration of classes warms the cockles of his heart. And there is not even a whisper in his solemn pages of what the years of " industrial peace " have meant to the British working class—years of a capitalist drive of unprecedented and unflagging ferocity against every known standard of every section of workers.

He is unwittingly candid, however, in the way in which he tells of the readiness of the Trade Union leaders to co-operate to the fullest possible extent with the employers and their state : and he triumphantly concludes by pointing out that the policy of the National Government in regard to the abolition of the gold standard and the introduction of tariffs is the policy " which was outlined for it by the Industrial Peace Conferences." The reference, of course, is to the memorandum of April, 1928, on the gold reserve and to the memorandum of the F.B.I. and the General Council on Empire economic policy.

In the course of his study, Dr. Rosenthal attempts some incursions into the sphere of political analysis which are completely grotesque : and he exhibits inaccuracies on points of detail—such as the description of Harry Pollitt as the editor of the LABOUR MONTHLY.

G. A. H.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Results of the VII. Session of C.C. R.I.L.U. (R.I.L.U.) 127 pp. 6d.

Left. A quarterly Review of Radical and Experimental Art. No. 2, 1932. Published at 218 West Third Street, Davenport, Iowa, U.S.A. 100 pp. 50 cents.

Lenin on Religion. V. I. Lenin. (Martin Lawrence.) 1s. 56 pp.

History of Russia. By Prof. M. N. Pokrovsky. (Martin Lawrence.) 383 pp. 5s (to members of working class bodies only).

Political Economy. Marxist Study Courses (1). (Martin Lawrence.) 6d. 47 pp.

The History of the American Working Class. By Anthony Bimba. (Martin Lawrence.) 360 pp. 5s.

Ten Years of Tyranny in Italy. Pietro Nenni. (Allen & Unwin.) 7s. 6d. 218 pp.

The Truth about Reparations and War Debts. Lloyd George. (Heinemann.) 3s. 6d. 150 pp.

David. A Monthly Review of Politics and Literature. 24 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.4. 1s. 32 pp.

The Soviet's Fight for Disarmament. Introduction by A. Lunacharsky. (Martin Lawrence.) 6d. 44 pp.

Britain's Trade and Agriculture. Their recent Evolution and Development. Montague Fordham. Preface by Earl of Radnor. (Allen & Unwin.) 7s. 6d. 224 pp.

Ten Years of Railway Finance. Labour Research Department. 2d. 24 pp.

Workers' Voice. Weekly Organ of Irish Revolutionary Workers' Movement. 206 Pearce Street, Dublin. Vol. 3, No. 1. 1d. Annual Subs. 6s. 8d.

Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science. C. E. M. Joad. (Allen & Unwin.) 10s. 6d. 244 pp.

On Marxism To-day. Maurice Dobb. (Hogarth Press.) 1s. 6d. 48 pp.

The Land Without Unemployment. In Pictures with Epilogue by Alfred Kurella. (Martin Lawrence.) Cloth 8s. 6d. 207 pp.

Socialist Planned Economy. (Martin Lawrence.) 5s. 126 pp.

The Menace of Chemical Warfare to Civilian Population. Arthur J. Gillian, Gen. Sec. Chemical Workers' Union, 149 Newington Causeway, S.E.1. 2d. 20 pp.

Masses (Canadian). No. 1, Vol. I. Periodical of Progressive Arts Club. Box 212 Toronto, Canada. (Monthly). 10 Cents. One Dollar Year Subs.

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